



“Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?”—

—ISAIAH lviii., 6.

1896.

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The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1896.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

Slavery in the East Africa Protectorate.

THE following correspondence has taken place with the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS since the rising of Parliament:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., ETC., ETC.,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to refer to my letter of the 15th June, acknowledging the receipt of two copies of the "Regulations for Porters in the British East Africa Protectorate," and I now beg to acknowledge your Lordship's courtesy in forwarding another copy of the same Regulations with Mr. CAVE'S Despatch, No. 174, under cover of letter dated July 31st.

I have the honour to forward to your Lordship a copy of this Society's Journal (*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, May-July, 1896), containing on page 131 a few memoranda on the above Regulations, made by our late Commissioner, Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, together with a reprint of the Regulations, which have now become well known to the members of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Committee, at its meeting on the 7th inst., was glad to notice from the reply of the Under-Secretary of State to Mr. J. A. PEASE, M.P., in the House of Commons, on August 6th, that Her Majesty's Government were already engaged in considering, in consultation with Mr. HARDINGE, the best method of carrying out the pledges with regard to the abolition of the legal status of Slavery, which they gave to the House earlier in the year.

The Committee trust that Her Majesty's Government will find itself in a position to carry out this long-promised and often-recognised obligation to the many thousands of negroes so long illegally held in bondage in Zanzibar and Pemba before the end of the present year.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C., *August 12th, 1896.*

[REPLY]

FOREIGN OFFICE,

August 17th, 1896.

SIR,—I am directed by the MARQUESS OF SALISBURY to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant, on the subject of the new Regulations for Porters in British East Africa and of Slavery in Zanzibar.

I am, Sir, etc.,

FRANCIS BERTIE.

MEMORIAL FROM THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, *August 19th.*

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., ETC., ETC., HER
MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—I am directed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to lay before your Lordship the following statement of their views respecting Slavery in the East Africa Protectorate, more especially in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and the methods which they consider might be safely adopted for the abolition of the legal status of Slavery, with the least disturbance to the Arab and Slave populations.

I am desired to remind your Lordship of the fact that the Protectorate over the dominions of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR was assumed by the British Government in 1890, and that long before that date the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY had steadily used all the means at its command for procuring the abolition of the status of Slavery by the SULTAN, a measure which had formerly been successfully applied, not only throughout the Indian Empire, but at a later date (by Ministries of which your Lordship was a member) both on the Gold Coast of Africa and in the Island of Cyprus.

The popular feelings of indignation aroused by the revelations of Dr. LIVINGSTONE as to the horrors of the Slave-trade, enabled the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to procure the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee. This resulted in the (now historic) mission of SIR BARTLE FRERE to East Africa in 1872-3, and the subsequent signing of a treaty by the SULTAN, which abolished the Slave-trade by sea.

In 1875, during a visit of the SULTAN, SEYYID BARGHASH, to England, a Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY waited upon His Highness with the view of urging him to abolish Slavery throughout his dominions, as the only method by which the Slave-trade could be extinguished, and the SULTAN, in 1876, took a farther step by prohibiting the Slave-trade on the mainland. This, however, had no perceptible effect upon the transport of human merchandise, either by land or by sea, for in

1884, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar (Sir JOHN KIRK) expressed to Earl GRANVILLE his belief "that the non-recognition of Slavery, as a status known to the law, was essential to prosperity in Pemba."

Mr. VILLIERS LISTER, by direction of Earl GRANVILLE, in his reply, wrote as follows :—

"It is evident that the fear of Slavery entertained by the negroes will prevent any free influx of labour into the island, so long as the state of Slavery exists ; and I am to instruct you to lose no fitting opportunity of bringing before the SULTAN the advantages which might accrue to the island were he to decree the abolition of Slavery."

It must be clear that if the British Government considered that the abolition of the status of Slavery was essential to prosperity in the dominions of the SULTAN, so long ago as 1884, when he was the actual ruler, the continuance of Slavery for a space of six years, up to the present time, since the British Government assumed the Protectorate of Zanzibar, is in direct variance with the opinions expressed by Sir JOHN KIRK and the Foreign Secretary of that day. This glaring inconsistency has naturally aroused considerable indignation in the minds of the British public.

It is a cause of much satisfaction to the Society to find that the present Government has pledged itself to carry out the abolition of the status of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, a policy to which the late Government stood committed, and that just before the rising of Parliament this pledge was renewed in an answer to a question put by Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE, M.P., a Member of the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ABOLITION OF THE LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVERY.

What the Society understands by the phrase "Abolition of the legal status of Slavery" will appear from the following brief review of some of the cases in which this method has been successfully applied :—

Straits Settlements.—So far back as 1843 the meaning of this term was explained in an Official Proclamation issued by the Governor-General in Council in which occurs the following statement :—

"It is hereby declared and enacted that in no part of the Straits Settlements shall the status of Slavery be recognised as existing by law, and all Courts and officers of law are hereby prohibited from enforcing any claims founded on any supposed rights of masters in regard to Slaves within the settlements aforesaid, and are enjoined to afford protection to all persons against whom any supposed rights of Slavery are attempted to be enforced."

British India.—In the same year a similar Act was applied to the territories of the East India Company, the essential clause of which declared :—

"And it is hereby declared and enacted that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a Slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court, or magistrate within the territories of the East India Company." (Paragraph 2.)

By this simple process, and without any disturbance, Slavery came to an end throughout British India.

Gold Coast of Africa.—In 1874 Governor STRACHAN delivered a message of the QUEEN on Slavery and the Slave-trade on the Gold Coast to the Chiefs, announcing the terms under which she took them under her protection, and which contained the following important statement :—

"The QUEEN does not desire to take any of your people from you ; those of them who like to work for, and with, and to assist you, can remain with you. If they are happy, and continue to live with you on the same terms as now, no change will be forced upon you ; but any person who does not desire to live with you on those terms can leave, and will not be compelled by any court, British or native, to return to you."

Cyprus.—In 1879, when the Island of Cyprus (which still forms part of the Ottoman Empire) was placed under the administration of Great Britain, under agreement with Turkey, an Ordinance was issued by the High Commissioner, "to remove doubts as to the legal abolition of involuntary servitude in Cyprus, and to declare the law in respect thereto," one clause of which runs :—

"No rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a Slave shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court, or other authority whatsoever within this Island."

These examples of the process by which abolition was procured without disturbance by the British Government, in countries where there was a large element of Muhammedan population, ought to allay any official anxiety that may be felt as to what would happen if the legal status of Slavery were peremptorily abolished in Zanzibar and Pemba, or any other British Protectorate in which Slavery still exists.

COMPENSATION AND APPRENTICESHIP INADMISSIBLE.

The Committee having reason to fear that some form of compensation to Slaveholders in the Islands may be contemplated, desire to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that in none of the cases above cited was there any recognition of the right to compensation to the holders of Slaves, and that in Zanzibar and Pemba it would be most unjust to lay any such burden upon the shoulders of the British taxpayer, seeing that almost all the Slaves in that territory have been illegally held in bondage since the SULTAN signed the Treaty of 1873.

Moreover, any sum of money voted as compensation would be claimed by

the mortgagees of the estates on which the Slaves are employed, as happened in the West Indies in 1834. In all advances made to the Arabs by the British Indians, who act as bankers in such cases, the security can only consist of the *shambas* and the crops, seeing that British law expressly forbids an advance by British subjects on Slaves. Nor could these Slaves be legally turned into an available asset were the mortgage foreclosed, seeing that under the SULTAN's proclamation of August 1, 1890, it is enacted :—

“We absolutely prohibit, from this date, all exchange, sale, or purchase of Slaves, domestic or otherwise. There shall be no more traffic whatever in Slaves of any description. Any houses heretofore kept for traffic in domestic Slaves by Slave brokers, shall be for ever closed, and any person found acting as a broker for the exchange or sale of Slaves shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, and to be deported from our dominions. Any Arab, or other of our subjects, hereafter found exchanging, purchasing, obtaining, or selling domestic Slaves, shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, to deportation, and the forfeiture of all his Slaves. Any house in which traffic of any kind in any description of Slave may take place, shall be forfeited.”

Thus it is clear that the abolition of the legal status of Slavery would in no way permanently lessen the security now held by the mortgagee, for there can be little doubt that the crops raised by free labour would very speedily increase in quantity and value, as was the case in the United States of America, where free labour has proved to be far more valuable than that of Slaves.

Nor could a prolongation of Slavery, with added cruelty, under the term of “apprenticeship,” be for a moment contemplated. The experience of Great Britain in her West India possessions, between the years 1834 and 1838, when under the name of “apprenticeship” the horrors of Slavery were increased ten-fold, ought to preclude all idea of the introduction of such a system into Zanzibar, Pemba, etc., and it would certainly ensure the strenuous opposition of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

In respectfully submitting their views to the consideration of your Lordship, the Committee trust that the abolition of the legal status of Slavery will be carried out in the British East Africa Protectorate before the end of the present year.

On behalf of the Committee,

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.,

August 19th, 1896.

[REPLY]

HER MAJESTY'S *Under-Secretary* OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS simply acknowledged the receipt of Mr. ALLEN's letter of the 19th of August.

CRITICISMS OF A

Correspondence Respecting Slavery in the Zanzibar Dominions.

"AFRICA," No. 7 (1896).*

(Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, August, 1896.)

THE above Official Correspondence, although announced as "*presented to Parliament in August, 1896,*" was not issued to the public until September, long after Parliament had risen, and yet we find that some of the longest and most important despatches were written in February, March, and April, 1895. During the past two years or more a great agitation against the continuance of Slavery under British protection in Zanzibar has been carried on in the United Kingdom, to which both the last and the present Government has been constrained to bow, and the country now awaits with impatience the carrying out of the promises made in the House of Commons, first by Sir EDWARD GREY, and subsequently by Mr. CURZON.

Yet what do we find in the Official Correspondence that has been so long kept out of the public view, and is now only published when it is impossible to bring the subject before Parliament until next year? In a few words, we may say that many of the arguments advanced in *Africa*, No. 7, contain such an unblushing defence of Slavery that we are carried back in thought to the anti-abolition days, before Slavery was abolished in the West Indies and other British Possessions, and to that later time when Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE exposed and denounced Slavery in the Southern States of North America.

We are glad to find, however, that, although some of these documents have been pigeon-holed for nearly eighteen months in the Foreign Office, their contents have been well known to the two Governments that have been in power during that time, and that, in spite of the sophistry and Cassandra-like predictions which they contain, they have not prevented the Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, under the rule of Lords ROSEBERY and SALISBURY, from giving a solemn pledge to the country that the legal status of Slavery should be abolished in Zanzibar during the present year.

Thus it is clear that the elaborate arguments, sent home for the indefinite postponement of abolition, have not had the effect contemplated by those who advocate the continuance of Zanzibar Slavery, as the Government has by its latest pronouncement entirely ignored the recommendations in favour of allowing the present state of affairs to continue.

It is, therefore, unnecessary for us to give more than a sketch of the correspondence that has taken place, together with a short criticism on some of the proposals that we think may be useful to those who wish to understand both sides of the Slavery question.

*London: EYRE & SPOTTISWOODE. Price 5¹/_d.; and may be obtained through any bookseller.

The views of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY on this point will be found on another page of this journal, in a letter addressed to Lord SALISBURY, on August 19th, before the Blue Book now under notice was issued to the public, and before the revolution that took place in Zanzibar, after the sudden death of the late SULTAN. The suppression of that audacious defiance of Great Britain in less than one hour, by the small naval force that happened to be in those waters, ought to be an object-lesson to those highly-placed officials who appear to be in dread of a general Arab war, and talk wildly of the Arabs, "if really driven to bay, being determined to die in defence of their rights and those of their children," and that "they would perish fighting over their Slaves!" (Page 6.)

To the ordinary observer it would appear that an excellent opportunity was lost, when a fresh puppet SULTAN was appointed, of giving him notice that if he were placed upon the throne he would be required at the earliest possible date to issue an edict, abolishing *the legal status of Slavery* throughout his dominions.

Mr. HARDINGE to the EARL OF KIMBERLEY,
March 26th, 1895.

The chief reason against abolition brought forward in this despatch is that if the Arabs were compelled to give up all their *harem Slaves* it would create an amount of irritation that might be highly dangerous. No doubt this would be quite true, only that there would be no *compulsion* in the case of *abolition of legal status*—a point that is but partially understood in England, and apparently not at all in Zanzibar. The law would not pronounce a hard and fast edict of emancipation, and make it illegal for any Slaves to remain in a harem; it would simply declare that Slavery is an institution unknown to the law, and, as was said in the Indian Act of 1843: "*No rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another, as Slave, shall be enforced by any civil or criminal court, or magistrate,*" etc. And, again, in the Gold Coast Proclamation, 1874: "The Queen does not desire to take any of your people away from you; those of them who like to work for and with, and to assist you, can remain with you. If they are happy, and continue to live with you on the same terms as now, no change will be forced upon you; but any person who does not desire to live with you on those terms can leave, *and will not be compelled by any Court, British or native, to return to you.*"

Thus those women Slaves who had become accustomed to harem life and, owing to their being well treated and cared for, had no desire to come out and claim their freedom, would be allowed to continue as they were—and no doubt very large numbers would so remain. The fact, however, of their having the power to go away without being compelled to return—as in the case of ill-treatment—would form a very wholesome check upon masters and mistresses, against the cruelties that, even officials are obliged to admit, are

often practised. The harem question is probably one of the least difficult of the problems that have to be solved in the change from Slavery to freedom.

Mr. HARDINGE to the EARL OF KIMBERLEY,

April 27th, 1895.

This despatch describes an interview between Mr. HARDINGE and the late unfortunate SULTAN, and gives a graphic account of the Consul-General's attempt to convince His Highness that an Anti-Slavery policy was the best for Zanzibar. In reading this letter one might almost imagine that Mr. HARDINGE was a member of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. What a pity it seems that he does not employ the same cogent arguments with our own Government! Here is one of his arguments, which is truly admirable. Addressing the SULTAN, he said "*Experience seemed to show that so long as Slavery was a legal institution in Zanzibar, the temptation to add to the Slave population would prove irresistible, and would act as a direct incentive to the Trade, with all its monstrous features, on the mainland.*"

This might have been written in the offices at 55, New Broad Street!

Mr. HARDINGE to the EARL OF KIMBERLEY,

April 29th, 1895.

This letter unfortunately tells a different tale, for General Sir LLOYD MATHEWS appears upon the scene, and gives a suggestion for Mr. HARDINGE to transmit to his Government, which, if carried out, would put off abolition to the Greek Calends. The proposition is this—Let all existing owners be invited to free their Slaves by "*tadbir*,"—*i.e.*, at the death of their owners. Then let the heirs of the defunct owners be indemnified by the payment to them, by the State, of £5 a head for each Slave set free. Sir LLOYD naïvely adds, "*the capital thus acquired by the heir, joined to the rent which he would be allowed to exact in money, kind, or labour, from freed Slaves living on his estate, would enable him to pay for labour, whilst the fact that the emancipation would be spread over a number of years, would divest it of the character of a sudden and universal revolution which constitutes one of its chief dangers.*" To this precious scheme are to be added "*stringent laws against emigration to the mainland, or indeed from one portion of each of the two islands to the other *** and perhaps a paid Corvée under Government supervision,*" etc. In fact, the freed men would still be Slaves!

We confess to a feeling akin to amazement when we find a former officer on one of H.B.M. cruisers for the suppression of the Slave-trade in East Africa, and now a Zanzibar General, with an English title, thus coolly formulating a scheme for the indefinite prolongation of Slavery, and the application of restrictions to freed men little better than Slavery itself.

Let us shortly examine what the adoption of this proposal would entail. In the first place, the freedom of Slaves depending upon the lives of their owners, no calculation as to when this event would happen could possibly be

made. On some *shambas* it might occur in one, two, or three years, whilst on others it might be postponed for 30 or 40 years, and thus a mixed negro population would be formed—partly Slave and partly free—and when did Slave labour and free labour ever work side by side in harmony? Never! Supposing General MATHEWS' scheme had been in force a few weeks ago, what would have happened? The SULTAN, a comparatively young man, suddenly dies; whether from natural causes, or *assisted* to his end by ways well known in the east, will always remain a mystery. At his death the 30,000 Slaves which had formed part of his wealth would immediately have been set free, and the heirs of the dead SULTAN would have claimed, from the State, an indemnity of £5 per head—amounting to the exorbitant sum of One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds! No doubt, by "the State," the British taxpayer is here meant, and he would certainly object to being made thus responsible for the mis-government in Zanzibar, because if the Treaties, made by Sir JOHN KIRK with the SULTAN, had been properly carried out there would now be scarcely any Slaves in the Sultanate of Zanzibar.

One of Mr. HARDINGE's most recent despatches concludes with the following remarkable admission:—

"I fear I may appear to be wasting your Lordship's time, and, so to speak, 'beating the air,' by piling up arguments against the Abolitionists, when abolition has already been decided on in principle. But the manner in which this principle is applied may be of vital importance to the future of Zanzibar, and I should, I think, be wanting in my duty, not only to your Lordship, but to the people of this country, who have no one but myself to plead their cause, or to appeal on their behalf to English justice, if I failed, even at the eleventh hour, to put forward a single consideration which could help to secure to them the most favourable terms."

[By "people," Arabs appear to be intended—not Slaves.—*Ed.*]

Mr. HARDINGE, May 11th, 1895.

This letter, though short, is important, for in it the Consul-General maintains that the Slave is better off than the labouring classes in most other countries, and also that during the four years under British protection, under sound English management, the revenue has risen from 9 to 14 lakhs of rupees per annum! This is a noteworthy admission—for it is "*under sound English management*" that Slaves are made to increase the revenue, and to enable the puppet SULTAN to be paid £10,000 per annum, and the large staff of British Officials to receive their salaries. But we must give Mr. HARDINGE's own words in reference to the contentment of the Slaves:

"The second point on which I would lay stress is the moral aspect of the Slavery question. Undoubtedly if the maintenance of Slavery, even if only for a few years longer, entailed real suffering or hardship on the Slave population (I am not now discussing the Slave-trade, which can, I think, as far as these islands are concerned, be put a stop to by the measures recommended in my despatch of the 26th of February last, but Mohammedan domestic Slavery), no fiscal considerations could justify it. It would be our duty to say, 'Perish the revenue; the prosperity of the Exchequer cannot rest on the misery of the governed.' The testimony of every

European resident in Zanzibar would, however, I believe, be that the Slave population is, on the whole, contented, and materially a good deal better off in relation to its wants than the labouring classes in most countries of Europe, so that the necessity of immediate abolition is *only urgent from a moral point of view*, if the theoretical injustice and inequality of the system of Slavery, an injustice not felt by the Slaves themselves, since it is in accordance with their own religious and social conceptions, is to outweigh every other interest."

This view as to the moral question is again brought forward by the Consul-General when writing subsequently to Lord SALISBURY, and he encloses letters from Mr. PIGOTT (Acting Administrator), and a number of ladies and gentlemen of the Church Missionary Society, protesting against anything like immediate abolition of the status of Slavery. With regard to the opinions of Missionaries it must be remarked that Mr. HARDINGE only accepts them when they are in agreement with his own, for when, in May, 1896, he forwards to Lord SALISBURY the eloquent Memorial of Bishop TUCKER and thirteen other Missionaries, "*deprecating very earnestly any delay in abolishing the legal status of Slavery within the limits of the British East Africa and Zanzibar Protectorates*," he coolly accuses the Bishop and Clergy of Uganda of making "*sweeping assertions*."

May we not just as properly say that the letter from a lady Missionary at Mombasa to Mr. PIGOTT, saying that "the effect of abolition on the Slave women would be disastrous," is also a mere "sweeping assertion"?

N.B.—Bishop TUCKER's Memorial has been printed in the *Times*, etc., and in a recent number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

The Blue Book concludes with a long and very interesting report from Vice-Consul O'SULLIVAN, dated Pemba, 30th May, 1896.

It will be remembered that, at the request of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, a Vice-Consul for Pemba was appointed last year, and on his landing on the island he was received and welcomed by Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, the Society's Special Commissioner. We give a few extracts from Mr. O'SULLIVAN's report, and are glad to find him saying that he does "*not anticipate any serious difficulty in carrying out the provisions of a decree for the abolition of Slavery*."

Extracts from Report by Mr. O'SULLIVAN upon the Island of Pemba.

The Island of Pemba is a low, irregular coralline bank, a little over forty miles long, with a breadth varying from five to twelve miles. It nowhere rises to a height of more than 150 feet, and it is clothed throughout with dense and perennial verdure. Running parallel with its western coast is a chain of islets, some of which are of considerable size and inhabited, the whole forming an archipelago.

There are three towns in Pemba Island, all located on the western seaboard, namely, Chaki Chaki, situated about midway on the coast, where the island is narrowest, at the extremity of a deep inlet of the sea, which terminates in a long, winding, mangrove creek; Weti, which lies about ten miles to the north; and Jamba'ngome, which lies about as many miles to the south of Chaki Chaki. M'Suka

and Fufuni are both large villages situated, respectively, at the extreme north and the extreme south of the island, and scattered throughout the interior are several other villages of lesser size.

Chaki Chaki is the chief town; it is notable chiefly as being the site of a large ruined fort, which evidently is of considerable antiquity, but by whom built, whether by the Portuguese or by the Mazrui Arabs, both of whom dominated Pemba at different periods in times past, is uncertain.

The inhabitants of Pemba consist of Arabs, Slaves, Wa-Pemba, and British Indians, plus a small number of freed Slaves. Those owe their freedom to the observance by the Arabs, in times past, of that portion of the teaching of the Koran which enjoins the owner of Slaves to provide for the liberation, on his death, of some of them at least, for which act of benevolence he is promised an adequate reward in Paradise. Of late years, however, this pious custom has been generally disregarded by the Arabs.

Prior to my arrival in Pemba there were no European inhabitants. * * *

The buying and selling of Slaves within the island itself undoubtedly prevails to a considerable extent, but it is difficult to obtain conclusive evidence of such transactions, and it is impossible entirely to prevent the practice.

I have been told that most of the British Indians in Pemba were Slave-owners up to about fifteen months ago, but that they gave their Slaves papers of freedom at that time, on learning that a British Representative was appointed to reside in the island, and would shortly arrive. * * *

The lot of a plantation Slave in Pemba is a hard one at best. The Arab is a stern and exacting task-master, often a cruel one as well. Beyond assigning to the Slave a plot of land upon which to build himself a hut, and for the cultivation of sufficient food to keep him alive, he gives himself no concern about the welfare of his chattel, to whom he gives neither food nor clothing. The Slave works for his master on five days out of the seven; on Thursdays and Fridays in each week he is permitted, as a rule, to work for himself, although, in many instances, Fridays only are allowed him. During the clove-picking season the Slave works seven days a week for his owner, but of the cloves picked by him on Thursdays and Fridays during that period, he is allowed, as a rule, to keep for himself a proportion, usually one-third or one-half.

The free days in the week are devoted by the Slave to the cultivation of his plot of land, in which he grows mohogo, maize, and sweet potatoes, which constitute his staple diet. Occasionally he cuts fodder or firewood, which he carries for sale to the nearest town or village. In this way he may earn, possibly, 40 pice in the course of the two days; out of such earnings he has to buy clothing, such as it is, for himself and for his wife, if he has one, besides lamp oil and other small necessities. The women Slaves devote their Thursdays and Fridays either to the cultivation of the plots of land, or else to the weaving of mats which are used in drying the cloves, and which sell for a few pice each.

The enforcement of SEYYID ALI's Decree of 1890 would in no way benefit the servile population of Pemba, for it is manifestly impossible for a Slave to save up sufficient money wherewith to purchase his freedom.

When a Slave becomes incapacitated for work, owing to disease or accident—old age is hardly ever a cause, for the average life of a Slave is a short one—he is, in almost every instance, discarded by his owner, and has to eke out an existence as best he can. It is pitiful to note the starved appearance and miserable condition of the disabled specimens of humanity, who drag themselves to the towns on Friday in each week to solicit alms from the charitable.

In the punishment of their Slaves, the Arabs show little mercy ; for offences, even of a trivial nature, savage floggings are administered, while for the heinous crime, in Arab eyes, of running away from their owners, the wretched Slaves are treated with the most ruthless severity, and, in some instances, are subjected to the most barbarous cruelty. This was exemplified in the case of a male Slave whom I recently sent to Zanzibar. The man belonged to ALI-BIN-ABDULLAH-EL-THENAWI, the leading Arab and largest Slave-owner in Pemba, and he attempted to effect his escape. For this his master caused him to be flogged almost to death in the first instance ; he was afterwards taken right out into the plantation and secured by means of iron anklets to a growing clove tree, of which the stem was placed between his legs. There he was left for over seven months, to serve as an object-lesson, which should deter the other Slaves from imitating his example. During all that period he received as food only one cocoa-nut per day. His master evidently intended that the unfortunate man should die a lingering death from suffering and starvation ; he was emaciated to the last degree when I discovered him and set him free, and it is marvellous that he had survived so long. The irons, moreover, had eaten completely through the flesh of his ankles to the bone, and altogether he was the most pitiable object imaginable. It is satisfactory to know that in this instance, at all events, the owner has paid the penalty of his brutality. ALI-BIN-ABDULLAH-EL-THENAWI has been sentenced by the Consular Court at Zanzibar to a term of seven years' imprisonment ; he has been fined 500 rupees, and he is prohibited from ever returning to Pemba.

In fairness to the other Arabs, it is to be said that ALI-BIN-ABDULLAH was exceptionally notorious for his excessive cruelties, and many of the principal Slave-owners have expressed to me their disapproval of his methods, especially as exemplified in the case which I have described.

I am glad to be able to state, as a pleasant reverse to such a picture, that I know of several instances where the Slaves are well and kindly treated by their masters, and appear to be happy and contented with their lot. * * *

The agricultural possibilities of Pemba are simply boundless. The soil throughout the western two-thirds of the island consists of a deep layer of vegetable humus, which overlies in part a blue, and in parts a red, clay. It is of the most amazing fertility, and the variety and luxuriance of the vegetation which it nourishes are wonderful to behold. Here the clove attains to its greatest perfection. On some of the plantations there are groves of those trees, said to be about sixty years old, of which the average height is over fifty feet, and the yield of cloves per tree is as much as three frasilas and upwards. In the eastern portion of the island the soil is a light, sandy loam, which is well adapted for grains and pulse.

The annual rainfall in Pemba is enormous, and sunset is habitually succeeded by drenching dews. The sun's rays acting upon the rich moist soil stimulates all kinds of vegetation to an extraordinary degree, and the island is, in fact, a vast forcing-house.

The existing conditions of soil and climate are suitable for an immense variety of useful products. Amongst the cereals, rice thrives exceptionally well. In former years considerable quantities of it were exported, of which the quality was admittedly excellent, but its cultivation is now much neglected, and the amount grown in the island is insufficient for the local consumption. Jowari (*holcus sorghum*), known to the Arabs as "ta'am," meaning food (whence the Ki-Swahili "m'tama"), also grows well. It ripens in five months, and attains a height of nearly twenty feet. Maize matures rapidly, and bears magnificent cobs. Many varieties of pulse grow almost wild.

Amongst them are to be enumerated the black, red, and white varieties of "lubiya" and the "thur," which is known to the Arabs as "turiyan," and to the Wa-Swahili as "baradi." A small green pea (*phaseolus Mungo*), called "chiroko" by the natives, thrives well, as does also the small black grain (*phaseolus radiatus*), locally termed "phiwi." In a word, Pemba might be made the granary of East Africa. ° °

There is little doubt that after a while the freed Slaves, finding that they must remain in the island, and failing to obtain other work, would settle down to agricultural labour, especially when it became clear to them that they would receive fair remuneration for their toil. Moreover, the mainland blacks, and especially those along the coast, would probably be willing enough to come and work in Pemba if they were assured that there was no danger of their being enslaved.

Seychelles offers an encouraging example in connection with this question of abolishing Slavery, for it has passed successfully through a crisis analogous to that which may be expected to occur in Pemba if the Slaves in that island are liberated. The population of Seychelles, apart from the European element, is composed of freed Slaves and of their descendants, yet no difficulty is now experienced in getting those people to work as agricultural labourers.

During a visit which I recently paid to Seychelles I had the opportunity of visiting the chief plantations in the archipelago. I observed for myself how thoroughly and well the general work of cultivation is carried out. The planters told me that the negro labourers are in every way satisfactory, and that they are quite competent, under supervision, to look after crops such as vanilla, coffee, and cacao, which require especial care, and to prepare the different products for the market. The labourers receive, on an average, 10 rupees per month each for six days' work per week.

The superiority of the free labour in Seychelles as compared with the Slave labour in Pemba is very striking. I should say that the Seychelles negro is fully three times more efficient, from an agricultural point of view, than is the Pemba negro under existing conditions, and the chief reason of the difference is undoubtedly that the former is a free man, who receives adequate remuneration for his work, whereas the latter is a Slave, who receives no remuneration of any kind for his enforced labour, and whose only stimulus is fear of the stick.

I do not anticipate that there will be any serious difficulty in carrying out the provisions of a Decree for the abolition of Slavery.

It is to be expected, of course, that the attitude of the Arabs will be one of hostility to any such measure; but if compensation be awarded them, and if they know that assistance will be extended to them on the lines which I have indicated in the course of this report, they are not likely to offer any serious opposition to the freeing of their Slaves. I do not think that, in any case, they are likely to push their opposition to the length of an armed resistance.

Doubtless, their position at first will be a trying one; they are certain to experience much difficulty, for a time at least, in procuring labour for the cultivation of their plantations, and this will be the case more especially for those amongst them who have been harsh task-masters in the past. However, the labour difficulty will right itself eventually, and the money paid to the Slave-owners as compensation will enable them to tide over the worst of the crisis.

The Arabs have had a good innings in times gone by; in future they will have to pay for labour as other planters elsewhere do, and they must learn to adapt themselves as best they can to their altered circumstances.

Pemba, May 30th, 1896.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

What the Press Says

IN SUPPORT OF THE ACTION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

It is matter of much gratification to find that the great body of the Press of the United Kingdom, with a few notable exceptions, has supported the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY in its reiterated demand for the abolition of the legal status of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba, and the Society may well be encouraged in its crusade against Slavery in British territories, in spite of official mutterings of "popular clamour," "prejudice," and what not ; for a long experience has proved that when once a nation speaks out no Government can with impunity ignore the mandate.

We reprint a few extracts from the opinions of the Press, which show that the Anti-Slavery feeling is not confined to any special district or creed, but is spread over the whole country. Several journals, without comment, have also published extracts from the Society's Memorial.

THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR.

EVENTS in the past week have moved so rapidly in Zanzibar that many may wonder whether such rapid decision on sudden emergencies can be anything but perilous and disastrous. The sudden death of HAMED BIN THWAIN BIN SAÏD, under forty years of age, after a brief Sultanate of forty-two months, created, however, a crisis that undoubtedly placed our Government in very serious difficulty. We cannot but regret the death of so many Askaris, and the wounding of many others, in the forty or fifty minutes bombardment which reduced the SULTAN's palace to ashes. It is evident that for the most part these men were but tools in the hands of the headstrong KHALID. The emergency was sudden, and the need to reduce the would-be usurper to submission was manifest, and it was doubtless felt that a blow struck quickly was the wisest way of dealing with one who acted so impetuously on the death of his relative. The many suffer for the ambition of one man, and one who so hastily took the sword had little cause to expect much consideration. But the device of continuing the Sultanate, and immediately placing the Government nominee, HAMOUD, in office, is very doubtful, and here it seems to us that much more caution would have been desirable. If it had been intended to perpetuate Slavery, the case would have been different. But with all the repeated pledges that Slavery is about to be abolished, everything seemed to point to a prudent pause before installing another SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR.

A strong feeling prevails that these nominations by our Government of one SULTAN after another are only temporary makeshifts. The Government is virtually

entirely in our hands, and it is our intention that it shall so continue. There is no legitimate comparison between these SULTANS OF ZANZIBAR and the Princes whom we uphold in the Native States in India. In India we are dealing with Princes who have inherited rights, and to whom we leniently grant privileges of adoption. In Zanzibar we do not even pretend to be appointing a SULTAN who is heir to the throne, or who has a right of succession, but we nominate a man who we hope will be subservient to our interests, and we appoint as his Prime Minister an experienced and well-trying Englishman, Sir LLOYD MATHEWS.

These SULTANS do more than merely patronise Slavery. They represent the Slavery interest, and yet are nominated by ourselves. The SULTAN who died last week was the largest Slave-holder in the British dominions, and is said to have owned 30,000 Slaves at the time of his death. It is almost certain that the Slave traffic was quietly going forward under his professed jurisdiction, in spite of the most pronounced paper edicts carrying the SULTAN'S signature against all such iniquities. It is marvellous what the English public will tolerate in this direction when it does not affect their own persons or their own pockets. Our Government shows a most tender regard for the feelings and prejudices of 10,000 Arabs, but evinces little consideration for the 266,000 Slaves whom SAID BURGHASH estimated there were on the two islands, and who are under the cruel and unjust thralldom of their Arab task-masters with the connivance of the English Government.—*The Friend*, September 4th.

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE memorial of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, of the 19th ult., deals conclusively with the status of Slavery in the East Africa Protectorate. The historical *resumé* in the early portion of the memorial is a masterly preamble to the questions of compensation and apprenticeship, which are among the main burdens of the appeal. CHARLES H. ALLEN, as secretary, cites the opinion of Sir JOHN KIRK, expressed to Earl GRANVILLE in 1884, "that the non-recognition of Slavery, as a status known to the law, is essential to prosperity in Pemba." By the simple process of abolishing the legal status of Slavery in 1843 "Slavery came to an end throughout British India." The Society also cites the illustrations of the Straits Settlements in 1843, of the Gold Coast in 1874, and of Cyprus in 1879, and concludes that "these examples of the process by which abolition was procured without disturbance, by the British Government, in countries where there was a large element of Mohammedan population, ought to allay any official anxiety that may be felt as to what would happen if the legal status of Slavery were peremptorily abolished in Zanzibar and Pemba, or any other British Protectorate in which Slavery still exists."

The pronouncements which follow against compensation and apprenticeship are both of them emphatic, and from the halting attitude of the Foreign Office we cannot but think that the protest is very timely. It is always safe to do right. The illegality of the present position of the Arabs in holding Slaves on their plantations in Zanzibar and Pemba, that have been purchased since 1890, is clearly proved by the SULTAN'S proclamation of the 1st August of that year. A large number of the Slaves now at work on the *shambas* have undoubtedly been brought from the mainland since that date, and it would be a grotesque reward to illegality and cruelty to compensate the

Arabs for such Slaves, or now adopt any apprenticeship system. The paragraphs on these subjects are as follows :—

“The Committee having reason to fear that some form of compensation to Slaveholders in the islands may be contemplated, desire to call your lordship’s attention to the fact that in none of the cases above cited was there any recognition of the right to compensation to the holders of Slaves, and that in Zanzibar and Pemba it would be most unjust to lay any such burden upon the shoulders of the British taxpayer, seeing that almost all the Slaves in that territory have been illegally held in bondage since the SULTAN signed the Treaty of 1873.”

“Nor could a prolongation of Slavery, with added cruelty, under the term of ‘apprenticeship,’ be for a moment contemplated. The experience of Great Britain in her West India possessions, between the years 1834 and 1838, when under the name of ‘apprenticeship’ the horrors of Slavery were increased tenfold, ought to preclude all idea of the introduction of such a system into Zanzibar and Pemba, etc., and it would certainly ensure the strenuous opposition of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.”

In the presence of the discussion, which has recently appeared in the newspapers, as to whether it was safe to trade for the Slaves to be freed, we cannot for one moment tolerate the thought that we have any right to perpetuate a cruel injustice of holding in Slavery the multitude of negroes who have been driven by fire and sword from their village homes in the interior of Africa on the paltry ground of trade convenience. But we do not accept the supposition that trade would suffer. We believe that Slave labour is the most costly form of labour, and that freedom to the Slaves would mean a great increase of trade within a few years. The Arabs have no legal right whatever to raid villages or purchase the abominable plunder of human victims. Our English Government has been exceedingly tender and long-suffering with these Arab planters, and has procrastinated over and over again the good day of deliverance. DONALD MACKENZIE, in his able report published last year, demolished the arguments and exposed the timidity of procrastinating officials in the following words :—“Did serfs run away when they were set free? or did Slaves in the British possessions run away when they gained their freedom? If all the Slaves of Zanzibar and Pemba were freed to-morrow, I do not think for a moment that it would disturb the prosperity of these islands. The freed Slaves could not live on their freedom, they would have to work for their living; the necessity for labour on *shambas* and in port towns would not cease with the abolition of Slavery; the Arab would require labour for his *shamba*; the merchant would require men for loading and discharging cargo, and for his warehouse; the householder would still want servants. If the Slaves were free they would receive their pay in full, work more willingly and better for their employers, and the blacks being vain and fond of dress, their freedom would improve the trade in manufactured goods.” Sound views of the rights of man as man would save statesmen from many entanglements. If we considered the just claims of every man, instead of favouring rich Arabs at the expense of poor negroes, we should inaugurate the accession of the new SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, whom we have just nominated, by making his first decree a proclamation of freedom to every Slave in his dominions.—*The Friend*, September 4th.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

THE public have been told, much to the surprise of many excellent people, that one reason for not making Zanzibar a Crown colony is that its annexation to the British Empire would involve the abolition of Slavery. To the vast majority of the British people this is just the reason why the annexation should take place. There are difficulties in the way, but every Government since the Protectorate was established has pledged itself that Slavery should be abolished. The trade in Slaves was abolished by the Treaty negotiated by Sir BARTLE FRERE in 1873. It was prohibited on the mainland by SULTAN SEYID BURGHASH in 1876; and the abolition of the status of Slavery in the island itself has always been urged by our Government on the Sultans. The country passed under a British Protectorate in 1890, yet Slavery still exists, though the late Government was pledged to its abolition, and the present Government has taken up the pledge. The Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has addressed a letter to Lord SALISBURY setting forth at length "the methods which they consider might be safely adopted for the abolition of the legal status of Slavery with the least disturbance to the Arab and Slave population." We have not space to print the letter, which reviews some of the cases in which the abolition of the legal status of Slavery has been successfully carried out. In the Straits Settlements it was enacted in 1843 that in no part of the Settlements should the status of Slavery be recognised as existing by law, and all Courts and officers were forbidden to enforce any claims founded on it. In the same year a similar rule was established in the territories of the East India Company. In 1874 the rule was established on the Gold Coast, and in 1879 in Cyprus. Slavery was not made a crime, it was simply unrecognised in the Courts. Just as, on Mr. BRIGHT's suggestion, Church rates were not abolished, but rendered incapable of enforcement, so Slavery is not interfered with, but no person can be held to it by law. The ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY suggest to Lord SALISBURY that this shall be done in Zanzibar, and the legal status of Slavery abolished before the close of the present year. The request is one which has the sanction of abundant precedent, and the hearty support of public feeling. The existence of Slavery under British protection is a painful anomaly and scandal.—*Daily News*, August 31st.

THE BOMBARDMENT—AND AFTER.

THE "rebellion" at Zanzibar took just 50 minutes, it seems, to quell. Perhaps the only wonder is that the destruction of the Palace and unfortified structure directly on the shore occupied so long. The bombardment seems, however, to have been executed in a thoroughly businesslike manner, with only one casualty on our side, and with no harm to the ships. The "false SULTAN" (who, however, if there were any right of succession, would be the true SULTAN) fled from the Palace, and took refuge with—or, according to another account, surrendered to—the German Consul. What he had to do with the German Consul, and what the German Consul has done with him, does not appear. We hope there are not the seeds of any "international incident" here.

But now that the bombardment is over, what next? Does the British public thoroughly realise, we wonder, what the position is? If our object had been to bombard the Sultanate out of existence, it would have been worth doing. But another SULTAN has been already proclaimed, and though one SULTAN may be better than another, any SULTAN at all is a superfluity. For what the SULTAN means is Mohammedan law,

and Slavery. So far as any sovereignty in other respects is concerned, the Sultanate is a mere sham. The real ruler is the SULTAN's British Prime Minister, and the true seat of Government is not the SULTAN's Palace, but the Foreign Office in London. The maintenance of the status of Slavery is the one substantial thing which is involved in the maintenance of the Sultanate. There are some other consequences which are involved in it, and which are also unsatisfactory. A correspondent describes some of them in another column, and those who have read Captain LUGARD's great book on East Africa will recall other anomalies and inconveniences attaching to the present *régime*. These would be got rid of by a stroke of the pen if we did in Zanzibar as the French have done in Madagascar, and wrote "Colony" instead of "Protectorate." But the great point is the maintenance of Slavery, and surely the time has come for dealing with this scandal in a radical way. It is no party question, for the late Government pleaded reasons for delay no less than the present Government. Lord SALISBURY has repudiated the Fugitive Slaves treaty of the British East Africa Company, and that, so far as it goes, is a sign of grace. But it does not go far when the larger scandal remains of a British Protectorate, protecting Slavery within the limits of the so-called dominions of the SULTAN. To bombard one would-be SULTAN out of a palace, and to instal another in his stead, is not much to the good if our Protectorate is still to mean Slavery under the British flag.—*The Daily News*, August 28th.

IN 1893 the SULTAN, who had acknowledged our Protectorate, died suddenly, and this uncle, who has now been suppressed, endeavoured to seize the throne. His conspiracy was then nipped in the bud. He managed to do more mischief on the present occasion, but again he has been defeated. This renewed attempt to subvert British influence may necessitate some change in the form of administration, and may even lead to the Protectorate merging into a colony, as most Protectorates tend to do. Whatever is decided on this point, there is one change which must be made if the honour and good name of Great Britain are to be maintained. Slavery must be abolished. Its existence under the British flag is a disgrace. The present short-lived insurrection should prove the last rally of the Slave-owners and Slave-raiders.—*Newcastle Leader*, August 28th.

It is to be hoped that the recent events in Zanzibar will lead to the entire extinction of the Slave-trade and the legal status of Slavery in the East African Protectorate. The Secretary of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has addressed a Memorial to Lord SALISBURY, in which he says :—"It must be clear that if the British Government considered that the abolition of the status of Slavery was essential to prosperity in the dominions of the SULTAN so long ago as 1884, when he was the actual ruler, the continuance of Slavery for a space of six years, up to the present time, since the British Government assumed the Protectorate of Zanzibar, is in direct variance with the opinions expressed by Sir JOHN KIRK and the Foreign Secretary of that day. This glaring inconsistency has naturally aroused considerable indignation in the minds of the British public."—*The Freeman*, September 4th.

SLAVERY UNDER THE BRITISH FLAG.

"SLAVES cannot breathe in England," a poet has written, and some people have expanded the application of the line so as to make it include all the territory under

British influence. But, unfortunately, in that general application the line is not true. Zanzibar is very much under British influence, and yet in that island Slaves breathe under most revolting circumstances. For thirty years efforts have been made without ceasing to suppress the Slave-trade, and with the earliest of them is associated the honoured name of Dr. LIVINGSTONE. For years the work was almost entirely confined to private philanthropy, but in 1871 the House of Commons appointed a Committee on the subject, and that Committee produced a report which horrified the civilised world and stirred the heart of England. The atrocities of the Slave-trade were set down in cold black and white, and this memorable Blue Book served the purpose of a thousand sermons and impassioned platform appeals. In the following year, Sir BARTLE FRERE was sent on a mission to the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, and as a result a treaty was made between that ruler and QUEEN VICTORIA by which the carrying of Slaves by sea was made illegal, the Zanzibar Slave Market was closed, British subjects were forbidden to hold Slaves, and the protection of liberated Slaves was secured. But, unhappily, there is no local effort to observe the provisions of this treaty. This country has had to do all the suppressing, and when the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR has not actually countenanced the ancient practices of his race he has winked at them. So it comes to be that in spite of paper laws and paper treaties Slavery is still a flourishing and vigorous institution in Zanzibar, although the island has been under the British Protectorate for six years. It is decidedly humiliating to reflect that Slavery in its most horrible form exists under the British flag, and every political party will join in the hope that at this opportune juncture our rulers may be able to do something decisive towards removing this disgrace and reproach.—*Scarborough Evening News*, August 29th.

A QUIET settlement is best, and probably that is the one that will come out of this forcible demonstration of strength. The question of Slavery will not be as easily disposed of, and it cannot be avoided. Our bargain with MOHAMED BIN SAÏD must include the complete abolition of Slavery in the Protectorate. The occasion is opportune, and the demand is irresistible. A decree, with perhaps some compensation in individual cases, ought to settle the whole business.—*Wolverhampton Express*, August 28th.

HAMOUD is already an old man, and he belongs to a short-lived race. In the natural order of things there must be another vacancy in the Sultanate before long, and then KHALID will be out of the way. SULTAN or no SULTAN, however, the actual reigning power is the British Government, and if nominal Arab rule is maintained there is no reason why it should not be made conditional on the abolition of Slavery. Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, writing to the *Standard*, expresses the opinion that the time is ripe for a reform so much to be desired. The English Press is almost unanimous in demanding it, and we hope that Lord SALISBURY will have the courage to deal with the question in a way that will commend itself to the approval of the vast majority of the English people.—*Western Mercury*, Plymouth, August 28th.

WE know no higher title giving us rights over land than the advancement of the interests of civilisation; and it is for this reason many persons will be of opinion that it would have been well if it had been decreed that there were to be no more Sultans, and Zanzibar had been taken more directly under our rule. Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE,

the Special Commissioner sent out by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to investigate the conditions of affairs in Zanzibar and Pemba, has declared that there are 6,000 Slaves imported yearly into these islands from the African mainland. In 1890 the SULTAN of the day issued a decree against Slavery, but only to repeal its most vital clause immediately afterwards. Treaties have been entered into and decrees issued for the suppression of Slavery during the past twenty years, but, notwithstanding, the vile traffic continues to be carried on. Is it any wonder the SULTANS have shown no eagerness to put down Slavery when a large part of their revenue is derived from this source? It need scarcely be said that this sort of thing, so disgraceful to humanity, could not go on if Zanzibar were under our complete control. Yet, if we can deal with a pretender as he deserves, why can we not put down Slavery also? It is to be hoped that, in setting up a new SULTAN, we have taken some precautions towards this end. Not all the glory that could be derived from wealth, power, and acquisition could compare with that gained from putting an end to Slavery, and so ensuring that our fellow-men shall not be degraded and robbed of their elementary rights as human beings.—*Belfast News Letter*, August 28th.

THE real question is whether annexation is better than a Protectorate, whether we could govern Zanzibar and its dependencies more profitably for the inhabitants and for ourselves by declaring it a part of the British Empire, or by ruling it, as we have hitherto done, through the authority of the SULTAN, and according to the customs of Mahomedan law. The former course has the merit of simplification, but also the demerit of increased expense. We should probably administer the country much better by British officials than by the SULTAN and his Arabs, but we certainly could not do it so cheaply; and Zanzibar at present can barely pay the cost of its administration. One result, however, of its annexation we should hail with satisfaction, though it seems to give a surprising amount of anxiety to many who ought to have a practical knowledge of the social condition of the country. It would at once abolish the legal status of Slavery. This does not mean that any direct step would be taken for the immediate emancipation of the Slaves, but only that the law would no longer recognise the existence of Slavery. A Slave-holder would not be able to prosecute in the Courts a trespasser upon his human property; a runaway Slave could claim their protection against any attempt to recapture him. On the other hand, domestic Slaves, well treated and contented with their condition, would not be interfered with. In this way Slavery would gradually die out without any violent convulsion of social life. That is what has happened throughout the vast extent of our Indian Empire; there is no reason for doubting that it would equally happen in Zanzibar. Clove plantations might suffer, as cotton has suffered in America, and sugar in the West Indies; but that is because these industries have been dependent on an agricultural form of Slavery, which is so apt to degenerate into reckless cruelty that it ought to be abolished at all costs.—*The Guardian*, September 2nd.

NOTES OF THE DAY.

WE do not, as we said yesterday, ask for any impracticable or Quixotic measure in dealing with the Slave-trade at Zanzibar, but we may fairly, we think, protest against the theory of our position solemnly put out by the *Standard* this morning. "We cannot," says the *Standard*, "abolish the Sultanate, and bring the island under the Colonial Office." That is as may be, but now mark what follows:—

"Any form of servitude which carried with it the ownership of human beings would be out of the question if Zanzibar were a Crown Colony, though freedom might be of little service to the negro there, and bring ruin to the trade and industry. And the question of Slavery is so closely connected with that of government in Zanzibar that it is necessary to act with extreme caution. This is one reason why the Foreign Office has determined to continue the system under which the island is ruled by a nominal Sovereign, whose actions are directed and controlled from Downing Street. With the wisdom of that decision all whose philanthropic enthusiasm has not affected the soundness of their judgment will, we believe, agree."

In other words, the Sultanate, admittedly useless and embarrassing for all other purposes, is to be maintained because it acts as a screen between us and "the form of servitude which carries with it the ownership of human beings." We are to maintain Slavery, but also to have the satisfaction of boasting that the "British flag does not fly over Slavery." For if anyone asks awkward questions, we can reply that the flag of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR is still hoisted in that region.

If that is the solution which commands the adherence of "all whose philanthropic enthusiasm has not affected the soundness of their judgment," we should esteem it a privilege not to be thought judicious. If we believe that Slavery is essential to the well-being of Zanzibar, it would at least be respectable, and, in a sense, courageous to say so, and have done with it. To pretend that we abhor Slavery, and at the same time to set up a dummy SULTAN, who may maintain the Slave-trade without compromising our reputation, is less a display of sound judgment than of hypocrisy. If the total suppression of the Slave-trade is so very dangerous, there is a third course commended and approved, not merely by "sentimentalists" in London, but by practical men who have been on the spot, namely, the removal of the legal status of Slavery. This would leave every Slave free to remain a Slave if he chose to, while giving every Slave who wished to be a free man the benefit of the British flag. We can hardly do less if we wish to maintain our Anti-Slavery tradition; and to that, as a minimum, one most prominent member of the Government is, as we showed yesterday, most deeply pledged.—*Westminster Gazette*, August 28th.

THE settlement of our difficulty with the usurper of the Sultanate of Zanzibar has been brief and, for the moment, decisive. The action of SAID KHALID in seizing the throne—according to some accounts, after making preparations for, and even hastening the vacancy—has been met less promptly, but not less effectually, than on the occasion of his previous attempt, in March, 1893. The unpleasant feature of the disturbance is that he was apparently assisted not only by the late SULTAN's bodyguard, but by some four-fifths of the native troops, who have been drilled by European officers. Probably, as was the case two years ago, he relied also on the support of the native Slave-owners, jealous for the peculiar institution, and possibly irritated by the impending termination of the agreement which secures that their runaway Slaves shall be recovered by the native police, and by some echo of the exposure of the system made last year at the instance of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. But whatever his hopes, they have been effectually frustrated by the action of the British ships and of Consul CAVE.

The telegrams state that the majority of the British residents are strongly of opinion that the time has come for abolishing the figment of a Protectorate, and converting the island into a Crown Colony. That course has many advantages, political

and commercial no less than philanthropic. To begin with, it would do away with Slavery, and involve the substitution of coolie labour; and though interference with the "peculiar institution" in a Mohammedan country is not to be lightly entered upon, the condition of the plantation Slaves, as revealed by Mr. MACKENZIE's report to the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY last year, imperatively calls for drastic remedy. Moreover, as is pointed out in a letter to Friday's *Daily News*, the privileges enjoyed by British subjects have actually handicapped them in acquiring land in the Protectorate. It is true that the administration of a Crown Colony is relatively expensive, and that the rights of Consular Jurisdiction possessed by foreign nations will be interfered with. But all these difficulties have been faced by France in Madagascar, in spite of an infinitely graver situation. Surely our Government is strong enough to deal with them in Zanzibar?—*The Speaker*, September 29th.

THE Zanzibar difficulty is for the moment at an end. SAID KHALID has taken refuge at the German Consulate, and, as a "political offender," will not be liable to extradition. He would be a somewhat embarrassing possession, and we do not want to have to provide for him in Mauritius, or elsewhere. The graver, if less pressing, difficulty, how to treat the island, is said to have been solved in favour of the *status quo*. "The new SULTAN has signified his accession to the Powers," and there is to be no Crown colony as yet. The existence of Slavery is to be protected by the Protectorate. Slavery, of course, cannot be abolished at a blow, but we do not want it tolerated *en permanence* under the British flag. We are glad to see that the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY are bringing the question to the front again.—*The Speaker*, September 5th.

ZANZIBAR.

THE question whether England has gained or lost by the exchange of Heligoland against Zanzibar is once more before the country. In 1890 we simply accepted facts as we found them. We took over not the Protectorate only, but the SULTAN, who needed to be protected. In 1893 we had for the first time to consider on what lines we should hold and govern the island for the future. The arrangement with Germany covered all European rights. What we had to take into account was, first, the welfare of the native population, and next, the interests of the Empire at large. The SULTAN had become a mere instrument of the British Government. He had died, and our obligations to him, whatever they were, had died with him. We were free to act in whatever way seemed best calculated to bring about the results we had in view. The determination then arrived at—after what amount of consideration we do not know—was to continue the order of things which we had found in existence when we assumed the Protectorate. We set up another SULTAN. If we were right in what we did then, we have now an opportunity of repeating the experiment. If we were wrong, we have now an opportunity of mending our ways. SULTAN HAMID is dead, and it rests with Great Britain to appoint his successor or to leave him to figure in the obscure annals of Eastern Africa as the last of his line. The events of the last three days have, if anything, enlarged our freedom of action. This time we were not confronted by a submissive claimant to the throne asking nothing better than a renewal of the favour shown to his predecessor, and contented to reign as the creature and servant of Great Britain. A new SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR at once mounted the throne, but it was in defiance of the protecting Power. KHALID, the

cousin of the late SULTAN, had HAMID buried within a few hours of his death, declared himself his successor, and occupied the Palace and the Palace Square with a force variously estimated at from two thousand to two thousand five hundred men. To meet this state of affairs, the officers commanding the three British ships in the harbour landed one hundred and fifty men. Except as a protest, this measure could be of no avail; but on Wednesday two more vessels arrived, one of them being the flagship of the Admiral commanding at the Cape station, and the British force on shore was at once increased to five hundred men. After the arrival of this reinforcement an ultimatum was despatched, giving KHALID the choice between complete surrender or the bombardment of the Palace. And the Palace has been bombarded accordingly, and KHALID disposed of. By this act the pretender has lost any title he could have hoped to set up. Protectorates may vary one from another in many particulars, but at least they have this in common—that the protecting Power has a right to be consulted on the question of the succession. Still, though the English Government could have no hesitation as to its attitude towards KHALID, it may still hesitate as to whom and what it shall ultimately set up in his place. Shall the authority exercised by SULTAN HAMID remain with a native successor, or pass to an English official? Twice in three years has the choice between these alternatives been presented to Great Britain. It is not often that Governments have the option of undoing what they have done, and making a fresh start after so short an interval. We are aware indeed that a successor has actually been proclaimed to the dead SULTAN. This was probably a necessary act pending reference to the Foreign Office, but there is no reason why it should settle the question definitely and for ever. We have no doubt that HAMUD, the new SULTAN, would be quite willing to be mediatised on a good allowance. As it is, the SULTAN has no power beyond what we have chosen to lend him for the time being, and the transference from nominal sovereignty to actual mediatisation might be accomplished without the slightest difficulty.

We have said that our action ought to be determined by two considerations—the welfare of the native population, and the interests of the British Empire. The former virtually resolves itself into the question, Under which system will the suppression of Slavery be best carried out? In some cases no doubt the problem has other elements. Though the tranquillity and material prosperity of a country may be best consulted by its annexation to the immediate dominions of the British Crown, the happiness of the inhabitants may not be promoted to anything like the same extent. As regards this latter object, questions of sentiment count for something. When we open up trade, and at the same time close careers, we may not always be conferring a benefit. Unfortunately the native notion of a career is often one which is irreconcilable with the peaceful following out of other people's careers. It is to harry the country as a conquering soldier or to plunder it as a successful Vizier. But in Zanzibar this is not an aspect of the situation that we need stop to regard. There are no careers there to be made or marred. What is there is a survival of Slavery with which we have hitherto found it difficult to deal effectually. Slavery in Zanzibar has become a familiar subject for questions in the House of Commons, and it cannot be said that the answers have always been satisfactory. So long as Slavery exists, in however modified a form—and in the case of Zanzibar we are sometimes tempted to think that there is more reason to be sure about the Slavery than about the modifications—a radically wrong estimate of the practice of keeping Slaves is necessarily formed, and where opportunities for its commission offer themselves, the crime of obtaining fresh Slaves by capture will not be very severely judged. It is too

obvious to need proof that the suppression of Slavery will be easier under English law, to which such a status is unknown, than under native law, in which it is a recognised and familiar incident. From this point of view, therefore, the weight of argument seems to be all on the side of annexation. It is easier to manage our own subjects than the subjects of another man, even when that other man is a protected native Sovereign. Slavery and the Slave-trade will alike be more promptly disposed of when Zanzibar is under British rule than while it is only under British protection.

From the point of view of Imperial interests, we are disposed to take the same view. There may, of course, be special circumstances, with which we are not acquainted, that make immediate annexation inexpedient. But we find it hard to imagine what they are. British trade with Zanzibar is growing, and contains large possibilities of development. We refuse to believe that if the island passed under the direct rule of the Crown, English traders, or those with whom they do business, would be placed in a worse position than they are in now. Local opinion, we are told, is in favour of "taking this opportunity to hoist the British flag, and to abolish Arab rule once and for all." In this case, we imagine, local opinion stands for English opinion on the spot, or, as the *Times* puts it, for the opinion of those who are "immersed in Zanzibar affairs." But then, our contemporary goes on to say, "a course which seems easy and natural to persons locally concerned may have fewer attractions for statesmen charged with the care of Imperial interests." No doubt that is true. Statesmen charged with the care of imperial interests have necessarily to take a comprehensive survey of affairs. They have to inquire how the action of England in one continent may affect her reputation or her policy in another continent. To all appearance, however, our position in Zanzibar is more than commonly isolated. We squared Germany in 1890, and when that feat was accomplished, there was no one else left to square. But the remark of the *Times* may be true in another sense, and that a sense in which it less deserves consideration. There has of late been some reason to think that statesmen charged with the care of Imperial interests have a tendency to be afraid of their obligations—to look about to see if some expedient for lessening them may not be discovered. At one time the device in favour is a Protectorate, at another a Chartered Company. But in each case the motive for adopting it is a desire to enjoy the advantages of Empire without accepting its full burdens. We do not believe that this attempt is ever successful. For other reasons, expedients that stop short of complete incorporation with the British Empire may have their place and use. But if they are adopted simply to save trouble or cost they will never be successful. That is not the temper in which Empires are either made or maintained. —*The Spectator*, August 29th.

THE HISTORY AND MYSTERY OF ZANZIBAR.

NOTWITHSTANDING the attention which we have given this question since it last came up, and despite the many facts and statistics which we have given regarding it, there remains still unexplored a world of shame and mystery for which every Briton must blush, and which every citizen of the United Kingdom who cares a farthing for the honour of the British Empire must desire to see exposed and abolished. The important letter which we published yesterday from Mr. PEASE ought to be studied far and wide. It showed that the nominal Sultanate, a mere cloak for misgovernment and Slavery, is maintained at a considerable and unnecessary cost, the SULTAN giving us a guarantee of his assistance to put down the Slave trade, while

actually owning 30,000 Slaves himself under our very eyes! It showed that it costs the British Empire £100,000 a year for warships to watch the Slavers, while the source of the scourge remains untouched among the successive SULTANS and their Arab followers. Above all, it showed that this disgraceful administration of Zanzibar consists of six individuals, one of them, the President of the Ministry, a late officer of our navy, and three others who were formerly officers in Her Majesty's army, one of these being at the head of the Post Office. Such is the *régime* that has been set up in the form of a protectorate; and it has worked up to now exactly as if the business of its existence were to nurse the Slave-trade and protect the Sultanate as a guise under which to carry it on.

What does this mean? So long ago as 1870, Professor BERLIOUX, of the Lyons Lyceum, showed that the State of Zanzibar alone, with its Slave nurseries in the interior, contributed 90,000 souls each year to the African Slave-trade. And this represents only the export trade, saying nothing of the 30,000 permanently owned by the SULTAN, and the 360,000 owned and worked in the local plantations by the Arab followers and tribesmen of the SULTAN. But it is computed that for every Slave exported a number between five and ten are sacrificed in the effort. Put it at seven, and we have an actual sacrifice of 360,000 souls annually to the Slave-trade of Zanzibar! A most annoying fact about it is that we have no means of ascertaining how far, if at all, our protectorate has lessened this horror, as we have never succeeded in getting any returns from the SULTAN. Neither can we get any reliable information from our own administrators, whose conduct is shamefully suggestive of collusion with the Arab Slave-traders. Thus the British taxpayer is called on to find £100,000 a year for warships to intercept the trade, while at the same time leaving the administrators, the SULTANS, and the Arabs, to carry on their cursed trade with practically no check upon them in the interior. What would we think of the Government of Newcastle if they set apart a division of the city where crime might be practised with impunity, and assisted by official indifference or connivance, while arresting only such criminals as ventured to commit their crimes outside the specified boundary? Such is the abominable system to which the honour of our empire is committed in connection with the traffic in the bodies and souls of our fellow-creatures in Zanzibar.

What a miserable and melancholy performance it is, then, to continue this system of blood-stained abomination, as we are doing, by the creating of a new SULTAN. There is not even the claim of succession to hinder a change. The SULTANS OF ZANZIBAR are our own making. They do not follow the fashion of primogeniture. We may select any one we please. We may equally select none at all. Look at it how you will, there is absolutely not one single ground for the continuance of the Sultanate. Where the evil of it operates most effectively is this. The doings of the administrators remain practically a mystery. This mystery is guarded by the great sham of the Sultanate. Therefore we have no one in Parliament directly responsible for what may happen. If a question is put in Parliament regarding a matter in Zanzibar, it is not the particular business of anybody to make reply; and, even should it be answered, the Minister can say that the administrators are responsible to the SULTAN, not to the Imperial Parliament. Meantime, the SULTAN is a mere puppet, kept there as a screen, behind which this intolerable administration pursues its unholy career, hiding its conduct from imperial review, while at the same time holding its status by virtue of the Empire and its Protectorate. In short, the *régime* in Zanzibar is one of the worst instances of a dual government that have ever disgraced the administrative annals of an empire.

It is plain, therefore, that if we are to remove this Imperial stain and abolish Slavery in Zanzibar we must first abolish the dual form of government, which has always been dark, dishonourable, and mysterious, without any single authority even directly responsible for any given matter. Regarding India, where the system had had a long time and wider means for development, some high authorities on Indian administration used to confess their incapacity to understand the constitution of the Indian Government, and "John Company" was abolished utterly as a means of placing responsibility and power together. Why in this comparatively insignificant island of Zanzibar should we continue the system Thomas Cooper describes as "a hell upon earth," and perpetuate its development by establishing a new SULTAN? How long is the anomaly to last? How long shall adventurers trade in human flesh and blood beneath the British flag? How long is England going to tolerate the shame, the cruelty, and horror of it?—*Newcastle Daily News*.

Zanzibar and Slavery.

To the Editor of the "TIMES."

SIR,—Having taken a humble part in endeavouring to draw public attention to the form of government which has prevailed since 1890 in the British protected islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, I venture to now further emphasise my views as an opportunity is at the moment afforded the Government to revise the system and carry out, immediately, the reiterated pledge given to Parliament that the legal status of Slavery within the Zanzibar Protectorate shall be abolished.

I have advocated both in and out of Parliament that the Sultanate of Zanzibar should be abolished, and I much regret to see that the British representatives at Zanzibar have already set up a new SULTAN. This course may possibly have been recommended by the Home Government, with a view to re-establish peace and order, and not with the intention of permanently maintaining a system which is uneconomical, and which appears to serve the one purpose of enabling the British Government to escape from the direct responsibility of maintaining the legal status of Slavery, which under a more direct English administration would not only be illegal, but which would not be tolerated for one moment by the British nation.

Since 1870, every SULTAN has been appointed with a view to his pliability in the hands of our Agent-General, and the claims of the nearest blood-relation have on each occasion been ignored.

That the Government is really a British one, and that the SULTAN is little more than a puppet set up to blind the British public to the responsibilities which attach to us, may be seen from the latest list I have been able to obtain of the Government officials.

General Sir LLOYD MATHEWS, late of the British Navy, is Prime Minister to the SULTAN.

Brigadier-General G. P. HATCH and Lieutenant A. E. RAIKES are British officers commanding the native troops. Mr. C. W. STRICKLAND is the Treasurer and Collector of Revenues. BOMANJEE MANEKJEE, an Indian, is the Minister of Public Works. Captain LE PAGE AGNEW, R.N., controls the Post Office. Dr. FRANCIS CHARLESWORTH is Health Officer. Mr. CURSETJI CAWASJI, an Indian, is the Registrar. Mr. FREDERICK PORDAGE, C.E., is the engineer in charge of the Sanitary Department. It is,

therefore, nothing more than a farce, when there are no native Ministers, for the British people to shield themselves from the responsibility of maintaining the Slavery of a quarter of a million of human beings on the two islands of Pemba and Zanzibar by appointing a Mahommedan ruler to a mere nominal position.

The SULTAN and his staff are maintained at an unnecessary cost of several thousand pounds, which might be saved if the Sultanate were abolished, and if Slavery were abolished at the same time an expenditure of upwards of £100,000 would be saved in maintaining so large a fleet of war vessels to vainly try to intercept the Slave trade carried on between the mainland and the islands. There are, doubtless, difficulties in the way of the Zanzibar Protectorate being governed as a Crown colony, which exist in connection with treaty rights, but surely these are not insuperable.

The French at the present time, in defiance of treaty obligations, allow their own goods into Madagascar free of import duty, whilst levying a tariff on British-made articles.

Cannot our diplomatists devise some arrangement whereby the French and other European Powers interested could be given a set-off against the abrogation of such rights as they hold at Zanzibar with a view to the formation of a better administrative system, which would secure that abolition of Slavery to which they with ourselves were party by the Brussels Act of 1890?

Personally I believe the seat of the Government should be transferred to Mombasa, on the mainland, where there is a large and commodious harbour, and not mere roadsteads as at Zanzibar, from which place the free development of the islands could be easily promoted as well as those districts on the continent itself over which we have control.

The representatives at Zanzibar may be expected to fight against any change in the *status quo*, but it is for our Government to show itself strong enough to at least take advantage of the present crisis, and once and for all set up an economical and sound administrative system, and abolish forthwith the status of Slavery which to-day exists, to our disgrace be it said, with all its horrors in this British protectorate.

I am, yours faithfully,

JOSEPH A. PEASE.

SNOW HALL, DARLINGTON, August 29th.

To the Editor of the "TIMES."

SIR,—We have had occasion to teach a sharp lesson to KHALID and his unfortunate followers at Zanzibar. The work seems to have been very thoroughly done, and we may be sure that the story will lose nothing in the telling as it spreads along the coast and into the interior.

The question now is, What will be the results of our action beyond the replacing of one puppet Sultan by another? Some persons propose immediate annexation, but such talk shows ignorance of the circumstances of the case. Annexation may or may not be expedient, but the difficulties lie, not at Zanzibar, but in our treaties with France and with Germany, which bind us to respect its independence, and are not to be got rid of by a few quick-firing guns.

But there is one pledge of the Government of which this bombardment facilitates the immediate fulfilment. They have pledged themselves repeatedly in the House of Commons to the immediate abolition of Slavery in the islands of Zanzibar and

Pemba. They have specifically pledged themselves that Mr. HARDINGE, upon his present visit to England, shall receive instructions as to how this abolition shall be carried out.

The accidental coincidence of the recent bombardment is most appropriate. It will have the strongest moral effect upon Slave-owners and Slave-dealers all along the coast. Hitherto the argument for delay has been that to avoid discontent we should require to pay the Slave-holders extravagant compensation, far beyond any fair claims.

Now is our opportunity. While the memory of the blazing palace is fresh we can make any decree which we think just, and no murmur of discontent will be heard.

The House of Commons and the country long ago decided that Slavery in Zanzibar should not continue a day longer than could be avoided. I trust that this chance for abolishing Slavery easily and completely will not be let slip.

I am, Sir, yours obediently,

J. PARKER SMITH.

JORDANHILL, PARTICK, N.B., *August 29th.*

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

To the Editor of the "TIMES."

SIR,—Will you allow me to offer a few observations upon the official correspondence just issued by the Foreign Office on Slavery in Zanzibar, for it shows very clearly that Her Majesty's Representatives in that island are the real obstacles to the abolition of Slavery in that portion of East Africa under the sway of England? There are in the various despatches no arguments advanced which have not been used by the apologists of Slavery from time immemorial, nor could, indeed, there be such, as Slavery is a crime against religion and humanity, and one which has been unmistakably condemned by the British people.

Mr. HARDINGE, in support of his arguments for not abolishing Slavery, has cited the written opinions of four or five individual missionaries, whilst he passes over in a few lines the weighty testimony of the Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa (with a considerable number of his clergy), and ignores the abolitionist views of a leading member of the Universities' Mission in Zanzibar itself—Archdeacon JONES-BATEMAN. Had he extended his inquiries a little farther, the Consul-General would have found that these abolitionist views were held by a considerable number of the leading Europeans in that region. The question of Mohammedan Slavery is not a question of geography, as Mr. HARDINGE would appear to think, for that institution is similar in all Mohammedan countries.

With regard to the statistics of population, etc., they have been dealt with in a masterly manner by Consul SMITH, who has wisely, in the absence of a "Domesday Book," accepted the statement of population made by the late SULTAN BARGHISH—any figures outside that estimate are the merest assumptions—but so far as my own impressions, gleaned on the spot, are concerned, I believe that hardly any of the Slaves imported prior to 1873 are now in existence. I had it on unquestionable authority that the birth rate among the Slave population is exceedingly low, so that there must have been a large yearly import of raw Slaves to meet the deficiency caused by mortality and export. The Consul-General assumes that the Slave-trade at Zanzibar is practically extinct, but the continual capture of dhows by Her Majesty's ships, as reported in the official *Zanzibar Gazette*, does not bear out this assumption.

Mr. HARDINGE charges the abolitionists with being the originators of the long reported unhealthiness of Pemba island. So far as my personal knowledge goes, the statement originated in Zanzibar, and the most terrible pictures of its deadly climate were presented to me by Europeans and Arabs in order to dissuade me from going to Pemba.

I found, however, that these statements were promulgated by the Arabs, with a view of enabling them to carry on a Slave-trade between the two islands under the pretext that the Slaves were required to replace those who had died from the effects of the climate, but who had really been exported to Arabia. Personally, I formed a favourable opinion of the climate, which I am glad to see has since been borne out by a recent visit of Mr. HARDINGE to Pemba, and in a measure by the British Vice-Consul, who is not likely to exaggerate the healthiness of the island.

The assumed danger of disturbance of the commercial prosperity or revenue of the islands were Slavery to be abolished, is, to my mind, a complete fallacy, and could only be brought about by an injudicious scheme of so-called gradual emancipation, which would really mean the prolongation of Slavery and the Slave-trade, with all their miseries and horrors.

There is not the slightest justification, or necessity, for compensation, as there is no actual evidence to prove that any of the Slaves now in Zanzibar and Pemba are held legally, whilst the treaties and decrees for the suppression of the Slave-trade have been, according to Mr. HARDINGE's own admission to me when in Zanzibar, totally disregarded by the local authorities.

My views on the Slavery question in the two islands will be found fully set forth in a report to the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, dated Aden, May, 1895. Neither financial questions nor political expediency can justify the delay in carrying out the measure of freedom which successive Governments have pledged themselves to do in Zanzibar and Pemba, and the time has now arrived for fulfilling these solemn pledges to the people of this country, and thus remove a stain from our flag, and once again display our love of liberty and justice.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

DONALD MACKENZIE.

LONDON INSTITUTION, FINSBURY CIRCUS, E.C.,

September 12th, 1896.

To the Editor of the "TIMES."

SIR,—It may be of interest at the present time again to draw attention to what this country (the greatest Mohammedan Power) did in 1843 to abolish the status of Slavery in India without any hardship or evil resulting therefrom.

Why, then, should Zanzibar (the smallest Mohammedan Power) anticipate a contrary result were she now to enact a similar law?

The Act, of which I enclose a copy, in four short clauses covers the whole ground abolitionists are contending for, without requiring compensation to be made, either from the Imperial or the local Treasury.

Such an Act would give Slaves all the rights and protection of free people, and it would not obtrusively interfere with the relationship existing between master and Slave, either in the harem or the plantation.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

GEORGE S. MACKENZIE.

52, QUEEN'S GATE GARDENS, S.W., September 14th.

"ACT No. V. OF 1843.

"Passed by the Hon. the President of the Council of India in Council, on the 7th of April, 1843, with the assent of the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India.

"An Act for declaring and amending the Law regarding the condition of Slavery within the Territories of the East India Company.

"I. It is hereby enacted and declared that no public officer shall in execution of any decree or order of Court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of Slavery.

"II. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a Slave shall be enforced by any Civil or Criminal Court or magistrate within the territories of the East India Company.

"III. And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property or prevented from taking possession thereof on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a Slave.

"IV. And it is hereby enacted, that any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of Slavery."

N.B.—Letters on the same subject from Mr. CHAS. H. ALLEN to the "Times" and "Daily News" were not inserted.

Capture of Slave-Dhows in Zanzibar.

THE *Zanzibar Gazette* of the 22nd July contains the following account of the capture and trial of Slave-dhows at Zanzibar. Until the abolition of Slavery as a status known to the law, we shall have many repetitions of these scandalous evasions of the law of Zanzibar.

The Slave-dhow capture cases were of great interest for two reasons—in the first place, the standing by the dhow of a man employed as a sailor who did his very best in what followed to track the offenders and to bring them to justice, and in the other, in the voluntary coming forward of a Slave at Pemba with a request for freedom and its being granted.

We are indebted to Lieutenant UNDERHILL, of H.M.S. *Philomel*, for the following particulars of the capture, a reproduction of the affidavit sworn to in Court:—

"Information having been received that Slaves had been landed recently and were confined at Infuni, I proceeded there in our first cutter on the night of July 5th, with Sub-Lieutenant ASSER in charge of a second cutter, eight men going with us. We had left Zanzibar on July 3rd, at 7 p.m., and arrived at Pemba at 9 a.m. on July 4th. On the arrival at Infuni, we found one girl and one boy Slave; the latter had been there some time, but asked to be taken away. Having taken charge of these two, we proceeded to another house close by and took prisoner a man who had bought some of the Slaves, but I subsequently released him on the boy and a girl being delivered up to me.

"Having heard that a dhow (No. 99) had brought these Slaves and was in the vicinity, I proceeded at noon, on the 6th inst., to look for her, and having sighted her, gave chase, firing several shots across her bows. She did not stop however, and, darkness coming on, I lost sight of her, but found her again at 9 p.m. and boarded her.

"The crew recognised, and were recognised by the Slaves I had taken, and also confessed to having recently landed them. The master of the dhow and the owners were not taken."

In regard to the second case, the following details of the capture are given by Lieutenant UNDERHILL :—

"On the 13th July, at 7 p.m., I heard that a dhow (No. 124) had run on the reefs off Sulieman Point. I proceeded there and found the news correct, and also that she had landed Slaves that day. I found afterwards that the reason she went on the reefs was that they anchored the weather side of them, to wait for the tide, so as to cross over the reefs instead of using the Brisk Channel, doubtless having heard that our boats were cruising in the vicinity, and desiring to avoid us.

"The anchor gear carrying away, she was carried on to the reef. The Slaves I heard were being taken to Pansa Island preparatory to being sent to the mainland (Pemba), so both cutters immediately proceeded there, arriving at 6 a.m. on the 14th, but they found that the Slaves had been taken across.

"However, I found three of the crew, who confessed they belonged to the dhow, and to having carried and landed Slaves.

"I then sent Sub-Lieutenant ASSER with the first cutter and one of the dhow's crew as guide, to land a party if necessary, to try and bring back the Slaves, with the result that four were brought back to me, but the others had got too far inland.

"Both dhows were, I believe, under Arab colours."

The cases were heard in Court on Wednesday last before His Honour Judge CRACKNALL.

In the hearing of the first case against dhow No. 99, the Slave girl on being examined said she was a Slave but did not know the name of her master. She had come from near Bagamoyo, her master, who was of the Wanyamwezi tribe, had sold her to an Arab, and he had brought her to Zanzibar and kept her until after the great *Siku ku*, when she was shipped off to Pemba, taking three days for the trip. At Zanzibar she was kept in the *shamba* for two months, and was forced to go on board the dhow against her will.

The man found working the dhow was called, and stated that he was hired on the understanding that he was going to fetch wood; when he got on board he saw the Slaves, but the owner was armed and very fierce in his behaviour, and he could not leave. This man had been said by the woman to be the master, but questioning showed that he could not have been, as his duty was to haul on the ropes. There had been twelve Slaves on board.

His Honour subsequently, on the ground of this man's general behaviour, and having acted as guide, acquitted him from complicity in the offence, and passed a decree for the condemnation of the dhow, which, however, had already been sunk by the captors as unseaworthy.

In the second case of the wrecked dhow, the crew had confessed to what had happened, and gave evidence, very willingly stating that they had landed twelve

Slaves ; that they had also been induced to work the dhow under plea of going to get wood ; that the captain was also very fierce, and was armed with a sword, and that they could not swim or would have come ashore again.

His Honour also discharged these men, taking into account their good behaviour and frankness, and the dhow having been wrecked, a decree of condemnation was superfluous.

In this last case, SUDI, a boy who had applied for protection at Pemba, stated that he had been brought down with his brother from the Wanyamwezi some months since and had been made the Slave of a *fundi* in a *shamba* in Zanzibar, remaining so for one month. He had been kept on the German coast previous to that for two months. He was captured by meeting a Swahili, who asked him to carry some *mahogo* for pice, and was then kidnapped. He complained of the treatment he was receiving at Pemba.

The learned Judge, in decreeing his freedom, stated that in the event of a Slave taking refuge on board a British man-o'-war, provided no crime was proved against him, and he lodged a complaint of treatment he was receiving, his freedom was able to be declared.

From the "ZANZIBAR GAZETTE," August 5th, 1896.

THE vigilance of Her Majesty's ships in these waters has been again exemplified during the past week by the capture of two dhows engaged in Slave-running by H.M.S. *Thrush*, and another by H.M.S. *Philomel*.

The latter case came on for hearing before His Honour Judge DE SAUSMAREZ, on July 30th, when the following evidence was sworn to :—

Lieutenant SEYMOUR E. ERSKINE, in charge of the second cutter, while lying in British Channel, on the 23rd inst., observed a dhow running down close to Briesbi Island. On a blank being fired, she stopped and was boarded, and her name found to be the *Dege*, known to have been a notorious runner of Slaves under a former Captain "JUMA."

A passenger on board and the crew said that seven Slaves had been landed that morning, in charge of two Arabs, off Matembene reef. These, however, could not be found, or any information obtained as to their whereabouts.

The evidence given in Court by the passengers and crew was unanimous to the effect that the dhow, after leaving Zanzibar, stopped at Kokotoni, and embarked seven Slaves—three women and four men—who were brought on board by two Arabs, and these were landed at the back of Pemba at 4 a.m.

FARAJI, the captain of the dhow, stated that on two previous occasions the *Dege* had landed ten Slaves and fifteen Slaves at the same place.

HAMISI, a sailor, stated that the dhow anchored at Kokotoni, and sent a boat ashore for the Slaves.

His Honour, on this clear evidence, made a decree for the condemnation of the dhow.

The other cases were heard by His Honour on August 3rd.

In the first case of the *Thrush* captures, Lieutenant WATSON swore to having detained the dhow *Hindyo*, on July 27th, at Weti, SENAH SAID being the master, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave-trade.

Information had been received that on July 1st the dhow landed Slaves at Kifoomoni, one Slave girl being sold to SALIM BIN JUMA, and recovered by the interpreter of the *Thrush*. Six "passengers," not declared, had, too, been landed at Ndooni.

The captain and one of the crew deserted on the night of July 30th, and the remainder of the crew on the night of August 1st.

The owner of the dhow refused to come to Zanzibar to defend his dhow, and also stated that he had two captains for the one dhow.

The Slave girl recovered swore to the dhow, and recognised the boy who brought her food.

KHALFAN BIN AMUR deposed that the *Hindyo* had landed twelve Slaves on the 17th, and that he had seen them. They were raw from the coast. SALIM BIN JUMA bought one, a stranger bought the rest. He recognised the girl, and had seen her sold for Rs. 100.

He had seen the dhow often at Pemba, and she frequently takes Slaves, carrying *mahogo* to the coast, and bringing back Slaves.

ZAINA, the Slave girl in question, stated that she had not been a month in Pemba, that she had come from Kilwa to Zanzibar, but was not landed, being put on to another dhow at night. MATABULA took her to Pemba in the dhow and sold her.

His Honour considered the evidence sufficiently condemnatory, and decreed the breaking up of the dhow.

In the second case of the *Thrush* captures, Lieutenant WATSON deposed that, on July 30th, being at Chapaka, he detained a dhow called the *Fathel Khier*, ABDUL REHMAN HAMIS being the master thereof, on the ground that she was engaged in the Slave-trade, the following being his justification :—

KOMBO, one of the crew, stated that the dhow had landed six Slaves at Matumbene, on July 9th.

There was found concealed on board one HAMIS NEAKETA, who stated at first that he was free, and afterwards admitted that he was a Slave of the wife of SHERIF ABADI, a well-known Slave-dealer.

The *Thrush* interpreter obtained a free boy, named YUSEF BIN ALIM, who stated that the dhow landed him at Matumbene in a rice bag, about July 9th, and that he was stolen from the beach at Zanzibar by SHERIF ABADI, who locked him up in a house at Malindi.

JABU stated that he had seen this HAMIS steal Slaves at Pemba three times, and ship them in ABADI's dhows.

The master and all but two of the crew jumped overboard and swam ashore, after detention of the dhow.

YUSEF, the free boy, on being sworn, said : "I was taken to Pemba about twenty days ago in ABADI's dhow. I was stolen by him and by one of the SULTAN's *askaris*, AMARI. They put me on board the dhow at night. There were many of us taken as Slaves. When we were landed the dhow went on to Kiapaka."

KOMBO, one of the crew, on being sworn, said : "I know the dhow, it belongs to SHERIF ABADI. I thought it all right, but the owner and the Nahoda landed again, and came back with a lot of people, whom we landed in Pemba. I know HAMIS, he kidnaps Slaves. We landed the Slaves at Matumbene and left a man in charge. We went to Kiapaka, and a few days afterwards we were boarded."

His Honour then said : "This is a clear case. The vessel when caught had lately landed Slaves, and must be condemned, broken up, and sold."

From the "ZANZIBAR GAZETTE," August 12th, 1896.

THANKS to the vigilance and energy of H.M.S. *Thrush*, another capture has been effected of a dhow engaged in Slave-running.

Mr. JOWETT, the gunner, was the successful captor, he being at the time, August 5th, in charge of the cutter at Pansa.

The case was heard by His Honour Judge DE SAUSMAREZ on Monday, when Mr. JOWETT, being sworn, deposed as follows :—

"I heard from a fisherman at Matambini of this dhow, and we went up inside the reef and tried to stop her at Pansa. I fired a charge of blank, but she did not stop, but ran right on to the reef about 10 p.m.

"There were, so far as I could see, eight or nine people on board. All of them ran into the bush, but we recovered one man, who stated that he had been stolen from Kokotoni, and that four other Slaves were brought in the dhow with him.

"I found no proper papers on board the dhow, and its number had been torn off. She had a three figure number. She had, however, papers belonging to dhow No. 99, which was condemned last week by the Consular Court.

"At high tide the dhow, which remained on the reef, broke up or floated off and sank."

MABRUKI, the Slave recovered, was then sworn, and said that he was the Slave of MASKAMI JEKI, of Kokotoni. "People came and told me to carry the bags to Nungwe, where I was seized and forced to go into the dhow. I heard them talking about a man-o'-war's boat, and someone said 'there is one inside.'

"We went off, and some said 'we will heave to'; others wanted to run ashore. We did so, and ran on the reef and jumped overboard, all of us getting to shore. I was taken by the man-o'-war's boat. There were four other Slaves besides me."

His Honour declared that he was satisfied that the vessel was necessarily abandoned by Mr. JOWETT after the capture, and that she was taken when engaged in the Slave-trade; he therefore condemned her.

Zanzibar.

ZANZIBAR, September 9th.

ABDULLAH BIN ALI, whose father was recently sentenced to a severe punishment for cruelty, has been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment, by the Consular Judge, for cruelty to his Slaves, and his Slaves are to be freed.

The Indians here claim three lakhs of rupees for damage done in the recent looting, but this is much exaggerated.—*The Times*, September 10th.

Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee.

ANTI-SLAVERY: THE RECENT CRISIS IN ZANZIBAR.

THE Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee presented an important report to the Meeting for Sufferings. The recent crisis at Zanzibar offers a peculiarly fitting occasion for the total abolition of Slavery in that island and in Pemba. It is therefore important to at once press our Government to redeem the pledges they have given with regard to this step, and protest against further procrastination. There seem to be signs of a spirit of temporising and a leaning to some expedient of temporary servitude or apprenticeship, instead of proceeding to immediate emancipation. This is said to be owing to a fear lest the Slaves run away from the plantations, and so produce disloca-

tion of trade. But hunger will compel the emancipated Slaves to work, and the experience gained in emancipation in other countries shows clearly that such fears are exaggerated. We can protest against this policy on several grounds :—(1) Slavery in the islands after the many past enactments of the SULTANS is essentially unjust ; the Slaves have a right to immediate freedom. (2) Experience has repeatedly and distinctly shown that compromises on this question only lead to disastrous failure. (3) The impoverished condition of so many of the clove plantations in the island, and the enormous extent to which the estates are mortgaged, shows again that the present condition of affairs is financially unsuccessful. Slave labour is always the least productive. In every way possible, Friends at this juncture will do well to utter a clear and strong protest against any continuance of unemancipated servitude.

THE "APPRENTICESHIP" SYSTEM.

H. S. NEWMAN said that the question of the Industrial Mission in Pemba was receiving much attention from the Committee, and many inquiries were being made, but the matter was not ready to report upon. The danger of introduction of some "apprenticeship" system is, however, most urgent at the moment, in view of the apparent inclinations of the Government. Our Society had to expose the terrible iniquities of such a system in Jamaica just sixty years ago, and it would seem as if some had forgotten that chapter of past history. On the other hand, the system by which the legal status of Slavery had been abolished in various States of India, as they came under British rule, shows a perfectly simple and satisfactory way in which emancipation can be carried out.

E. W. BROOKS urged that we must let it be known that we cannot accept as fulfilment of our demand for emancipation any transitional apprenticeship stage, which would only (when considered from the side of the Slaves) put these poor people in a worse position than at present. West Indian experience showed that under such circumstances many Slave-owners simply sought to get all the work they could out of their ex-Slaves in the allotted years, utterly regardless of health or life itself. JOSEPH STURGE and THOMAS HARVEY went out and saw this, and their testimony and revelation of the iniquities perpetrated evoked a resistless agitation, and brought about the immediate abolition of the system. We must take care that no such mistake occurs again.

COMPENSATION.

J. G. ALEXANDER said that the idea of some system similar to the West Indian apprenticeship appeared to have arisen out of the unfortunate decision, which there was reason to fear had been already virtually adopted by the Government, to pay compensation to the Slave-owners in Zanzibar. If they adopted the course followed with complete success in British India, and subsequently in numerous other British Protectorates, of simply decreeing that no court of law should henceforth recognise the existence of Slavery, no difficulty would be likely to arise. But the payment of compensation, which would inevitably become known to the Slaves, might very probably give rise in their minds to the idea that, their masters having been paid for their freedom, they should cease to work as hitherto. Sir JOHN KIRK, who was for many years British Consul-General at Zanzibar, and must be considered the highest authority on all questions affecting the Protectorate, in a despatch written by him whilst holding that office, and quoted in the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY'S Memorial, expressed himself strongly in favour of the non-recognition of Slavery as the right course to be pursued.

The late Major-General RIGBY, who preceded Sir JOHN KIRK as Consul-General at Zanzibar, and subsequently joined the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, once told the Committee how he had dealt with Slave-owning or Slave-dealing by the British Indians in the island. He called together the leading members of the community, and told them that any of them who continued this practice contrary to British law, would be sentenced by him to a year's imprisonment. He thus put an end to the abuse. Later, Sir JOHN KIRK, during his tenure of the office, took vigorous measures to put down the Slave-trade between Zanzibar and the mainland, notwithstanding the opposition of the merchants, who looked upon the traffic as essential to the prosperity of the island. Some years later, on his leaving Zanzibar on furlough, he was presented by these same merchants with an address, in which they acknowledged that they had been mistaken, and thanked him for having been the means, by the very measures which they had deprecated, of greatly increasing the prosperity of the port. These instances, from the recent history of the island of Zanzibar, showed how safe and wise it really is to act in accordance with the course which principle dictates. Unhappily, the present Consul-General appeared to be influenced by considerations similar to those which his predecessors had resolutely set aside, and to be pressing these considerations upon the Government at home. It was, therefore, very necessary that every possible influence should be brought to bear in the opposite direction, and that the Society of Friends in particular should show itself to be true to its traditions and to Christian principle.

The Meeting decided to adopt a Memorial to the Government, and left it to the Committee to arrange for its presentation.

Slavery in Zanzibar.

PROTEST BY WORKING MEN.

THE following resolutions were passed recently by the Working Men's Congregation, Salford Dock Mission, Mr. FRANK SPENCE being in the chair :—"That this meeting of fellow-countrymen of CLARKSON, WILBERFORCE, and other noble spirits whose untiring efforts resulted in liberating every Slave under the British flag, is humbled into the dust by a sense of national degradation at the thought that 266,000 Slaves are and have for a number of years back been kept by the British Foreign Office under the Arab lash in the plantations of the British possessions of Zanzibar and Pemba, and that even British men-of-war are regularly coaled at these islands by the labour of Slave women and girls. That, in view of the facts that the Slave trade in these territories was abolished by the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR in 1873, that local authorities declare that the average life of a Slave on these islands does not exceed eight to ten years, that it is notorious that in spite of all the efforts of Her Majesty's cruisers the Slave population is continually being recruited by Arab Slave dhows, this meeting concludes that nearly all, if not the entire number, of Slaves on the islands are now being illegally detained. That as we have no rights as a nation in the sight of God to recognize property in human beings, that as no concert of the Powers is required to inspire us to action in this matter, that as the French Chamber of Deputies two months ago set us the noble example of declaring by unanimous vote that Slavery is abolished throughout the great island of Madagascar simply because it has become French territory, that as it is abundantly clear that the present British Consul-General in Zanzibar is so saturated with

ideas of Arab influence and power and so lacking in moral courage that he has himself become the great obstacle to immediate emancipation, this meeting is profoundly convinced that the only course now open to us as a civilised nation to terminate this infamous and disgraceful state of things is to follow the precedent made so successfully in the case of the vast dependency of India—viz., to at once issue an edict declaring that henceforth Slavery possesses no legal status in British East Africa, and that a statesman of the highest reputation should be forthwith sent out by Her Majesty's Government to Zanzibar to carry the decree into effect." It was also resolved—"That the chairman be requested to forward a copy of the foregoing resolution to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the British Consul-General for Zanzibar, now in London, to the several members of Parliament for Manchester and Salford, and to the two daily Manchester newspapers."

Slavery in East Africa.

DOES GREAT BRITAIN SURRENDER FUGITIVES?

A QUESTION FOR THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

THE following article, which appeared anonymously under the above heading in the *Daily News* a few weeks since, with a short accompanying editorial, has attracted some notice in Parliamentary circles. On another page we print a question from Sir CHARLES W. DILKE upon the subject, and although we are astonished that the late IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY sanctioned an agreement with the Arabs for giving up fugitive Slaves, we are glad to find from Mr. CURZON's answer that Her Majesty's Government has issued a proclamation, prohibiting this very un-English proceeding.

As Sir T. FOWELL BUXTON's name has been mentioned by the writer in the *Daily News*, we take this opportunity, in the absence in South Australia of that distinguished member of the Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and also its Vice-President, of stating our entire disbelief that he would knowingly be a party to any such agreement with the Arabs, which on the face of it appears to have been kept remarkably secret.

(From the "DAILY NEWS.")

IN 1772 Lord MANSFIELD laid down the famous doctrine of the freedom of English soil, the attempted abrogation of which by the Tory Government in 1875 provoked a storm of public indignation that proved how proud and jealous the British nation felt of the sanctuary of its flag. The circular on fugitive Slaves issued by that Government directed commanders of Her Majesty's ships "not only," to quote the words of the *Times* at that period, "to refuse an asylum to Slaves in foreign waters, but to surrender, on their return to port, fugitives who might have come on board on the high seas. . . . It was apparently implied in the Circular that an English man-of-war was subject to foreign jurisdiction; and the national antipathy to Slavery was flagrantly disregarded. In disclaiming the right of protecting a guest, or in voluntarily consigning him to Slavery, the authors of the Circular were equally guilty of a culpable blunder." The Circular had to be withdrawn with a precipitation that added nothing to the dignity or credit of a Ministry of which Lord SALISBURY

was a prominent member, or to the confidence of the public in the manner in which its strongest sentiments were represented by the Foreign Office mind. The incident is referred to at the present moment because, in view of facts which have come to our knowledge from British East Africa, it is imperative the public should be assured that the obnoxious principle of the Fugitive Slave Circular is not again being resorted to.

It appears that as far back as February, 1890, an agreement was made on behalf of the Imperial British East Africa Company with the Slave masters of the coast, by which, in all cases of Slaves running away from their owners, they should be pursued, captured, and brought back to their masters by the Company's police. The engagement applied to fugitives taking refuge outside the Zanzibar dominions, in territory under the British flag, where the Mohammedan law of Slavery had no force, and where, it was agreed, the Company's troops would burn down any villages affording asylum to fugitives. It was prudent to have kept an arrangement of this character from the knowledge of the public, for it will be noticed that it corresponds exactly with the Fugitive Slave Circular which set the nation in a blaze of indignation in 1875. How far such directors of the Company as Sir FOWELL BUXTON were cognisant of the Treaty, or parties to its concealment, there are no means of judging. It is not, however, the reputation of the Company or the relation of such an agreement as this to the Company's professions, with which the public are now concerned. It is important to know whether Her Majesty's Government, who now administer the territory lately held by the Company, have adopted or denounced this treaty obligation maintained by the Company for a period of six years—whether, in fact, Imperial forces are required, as those of the Company were, to pursue and capture runaway Slaves in territory under the British flag, where the Mohammedan law of Zanzibar has no force, and give them back to their masters.

The agreement in question, it appears, was connected with a scheme for the emancipation of a colony of runaways, the credit of originating which belongs to Captain LUGARD, but has apparently not been much acknowledged. This colony is established at a place called Fulladoyo, beyond the Zanzibar frontier, and the runaways are therefore free men in every respect, save that if caught by their masters in Zanzibar territory they might be reclaimed as Slaves. In a letter addressed to Colonel EUAN-SMITH, the British Consul-General, on the 12th February, 1890 (to be found in an appendix to the "History" issued by the directors), Mr. GEORGE S. MACKENZIE records the arrangement which he had just made with the owners, whereby the Fulladoyo runaways were to be enabled, if they chose, to come down to the coast and work out their freedom. The number of those Slaves is given at about 3,000 souls, including the districts surrounding Fulladoyo. In a later letter, of 22nd May, 1890, Mr. MACKENZIE puts the number of Slaves affected by the arrangement as, "taking a moderate estimate," from 5,000 to 6,000. It would further appear from the idea, which he explains in the first letter, of employing a subscribed fund to effect the liberation of "about 2,700 Slaves annually," that the operation of the scheme of self-redemption was not to be confined to the existing runaways merely. The working of this "fund," it may be remarked, has not since been heard of. In a recently-published letter, Mr. MACKENZIE estimated the number of Slaves freed through the agency of his company at about 4,000. The diversity of figures would seem to indicate some lack of accurate knowledge on the subject. The official volume of the directors, already referred to, furnishes at page 407 what must be assumed to be the exact numbers. The self-redemption arrangement seems to have been little

appreciated by a community already practically free, for no more than 274 have availed themselves of it. To this extent the scheme is entitled to credit. Of 1,422 runaway Slaves sheltered at the mission stations, those (about nine hundred) belonging to the Arab masters were redeemed by funds subscribed principally by the Missionary Societies and the Government. The SULTAN'S Decree of August 1st, 1890, gave their freedom to 293, and 175 received manumission from their owners. Out of the total of 3,089 Slaves who thus obtained their freedom between 1888 and 1895, there remain 925 "freed, in special cases, by the order of the Company," that is, presumably, captives of caravans, or of tribal raids in the interior, freed by the Company's officers—people who hardly come under the conventional heading of "Slaves." It would thus appear that, besides its share in the redemption of some 900 runaways at the mission stations, only 274 people have obtained their freedom from legal Slavery under the Company, and these were all under the self-redemption scheme of Captain LUGARD. But there is no hint or suggestion in Mr. MACKENZIE'S official description of the Fulladoyo arrangement to indicate the existence of that part of the treaty binding the Company to capture runaway Slaves in the territory in which Slavery is non-existent, as recognised in that of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, and to restore the fugitives to their masters. It remains now to be ascertained what instructions have been given by Her Majesty's Government to their Commissioner in British East Africa with regard to that treaty.

(Editorial, "DAILY NEWS.")

WE invite the attention of Anti-Slavery readers, in Parliament and out, to the question raised in another column with regard to the position of the British Government as successor to the British East Africa Company. It seems that the Company had made a treaty under which it agreed in certain circumstances to restore fugitive Slaves to their owners. The question is what attitude Lord SALISBURY has taken, or intends to take, towards that treaty. The Arab Slave-masters, we understand, asked Mr. HARDINGE, the Consul-General, whether the British Government intended to keep the treaty made with them by the Company. Mr. HARDINGE, like the rest of us, had never heard of such a treaty. He, therefore, referred to Lord SALISBURY for instructions. What instructions were given we cannot say. Satisfactory ones, we hope; but it would be well to have the papers presented to Parliament.

("DAILY NEWS" Editorial, 12th August.)

AMONG the advantages incidental to the buying out of the British East Africa Company, was the abolition of the surrender of fugitive Slaves. Our readers will remember that a few weeks ago we called attention to an extraordinary agreement made in 1890 on behalf of the Imperial British East Africa Company with the Slave masters of the coast, by which, in cases of Slaves running away from their owners, they should be pursued, captured, and brought back to their masters by the Company's police. The engagement applied to fugitives taking refuge outside the Zanzibar dominions, in territory under the British flag, where the Mohammedan law of Slavery had no force, and where, it was agreed, the Company's troops would burn down any villages affording asylum to fugitives. In calling attention to this revival of the policy of the Fugitive Slave Circular, we asked whether Her Majesty's Government, who now administer the territory lately held by the Company, had adopted or denounced this treaty obligation maintained by the Company for a period of six years—whether, in fact, Imperial forces are required, as those of the Company were,

to pursue and capture runaway Slaves in territory under the British flag, where the Mohammedan law of Zanzibar has no force, and give them back to their masters. We are glad to learn from a statement made by Mr. CURZON in the House of Commons yesterday, that Her Majesty's Government, on assuming the administration of the Protectorate, have "issued a proclamation discontinuing the practice"—and presumably, therefore, denouncing the agreement in question.

How, we wonder, did this Fugitive Slave Treaty ever come to be sanctioned by the Company? Among the directors there was at least one whose name, one might have thought, would have been a guarantee against any active support to the Slave masters. But the fact remains that Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON was "directing" the Company during the years when Slaves were being pursued in British territory and returned to their masters by the Company's police. It is very strange. Or were the London directors of this Chartered Company as much in the dark as those of another are understood to have been? The whole episode is not without interest in connection with the general question of administration by Chartered Companies.

THE following Correspondence with the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY has taken place on this subject :—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., ETC., ETC.,
HER MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

MY LORD,—The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in his reply to Sir CHARLES DILKE, in the House of Commons, last night, respecting the surrender of fugitive Slaves by the Imperial British East Africa Company, stated that Her Majesty's Government, on assuming the administration of the Protectorate, at once issued a Proclamation discontinuing the practice.

The Society notices with satisfaction the course which Her Majesty's Government has pursued in regard to the surrender of Fugitive Slaves in the territory lately under the administration of the Company, and I am desirous to ask whether a copy of the Proclamation issued by Her Majesty's Government can be forwarded to the Society for the information of its members.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary*.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

55, NEW BROAD STREET, LONDON, E.C., *August 12th, 1896.*

FOREIGN OFFICE,

August 21st, 1896.

THE SECRETARY,

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 12th inst., I am directed by the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY to state that the proclamation alluded to by Mr. CURZON, in his reply to Sir C. DILKE, on the 11th instant, was a public announcement made in the Baraza, at Malindi, by Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General on his visit to that place, after the assumption of the administration of British East Africa by Her Majesty's Government. Mr. HARDINGE then stated that he could hold out no hope that Her Majesty's Government would confirm the practice under which, in certain circumstances, Slaves escaping from their owners were to be returned to them by the police. Mr. HARDINGE gave directions in that sense in his instructions to Mr. JENNER, at Mombasa, on the change of administration, as will appear in a Parliamentary Paper about to be issued on "Slavery in Zanzibar."

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

FRANCIS BERTIE.

Charles Darwin on Slavery.

[COMMUNICATED.]

EXTRACT from a letter of DARWIN to ASA GREELY in 1861 :—

"I never knew the newspapers so profoundly interesting. North America does not do England justice ; I have not seen or heard of a soul who is not with the North. Some few, and I am one of them, wish that the North would proclaim a crusade against Slavery. What wonderful times we live in ! Massachusetts seems to show noble enthusiasm. Great God ! how I should like to see the greatest curse on earth—Slavery—abolished."

Correction.

WE are glad to announce that, in common with other journals, we mistook the notice of the death of Mrs. E. NICHOL, of Edinburgh, as applying to the kind friend and supporter of the Society from its foundation—Mrs. E. PEASE NICHOL, of that city. It arose from the fact that there were two Mrs. E. NICHOLS resident in Edinburgh, both, we believe, widows of Professors, and both well advanced in years. We trust that Mrs. PEASE NICHOL may still be preserved for some time in good health.

Belgian Advance on the Nile.

INTERVIEW WITH AN EX-CONGO OFFICIAL.

A RECITAL OF HORRORS.

FOR the purpose of obtaining some information on the position of the Belgians on the Upper Congo, in view of the reported advance of an expedition under Baron DHANIS against the Dervishes, a representative of Reuter's Agency called upon Mr. ALFRED PARMINTER, a gentleman who has been in the service of the Congo State and of the Société Anonyme Belge since 1884. From 1884 to 1886 Mr. PARMINTER was on the Lower Congo, between Metadi and Stanley Pool, under Mr. H. M. STANLEY and Sir FRANCIS DE WINTON; from 1887 to 1893, with the exception of absences on leave, he was in the employ of the above-named Belgian trading company, as director of the Congo transport service; from 1893 until last December he was in command of the commercial district of the Upper Congo, and during this period he was constantly travelling between Equatorville and Stanley Falls, as well as on Itimbery, an affluent of the Congo—a district of about 1,700 miles, or two months journey in the interior.

With regard to the reported advance of Baron DHANIS, Mr. PARMINTER said :—“ Although there was no special evidence of such advance when I left, I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of the reports, although they are denied from Brussels. The steamer by which I came home passed the *Leopoldville* at Lagos.”

Mr. PARMINTER was then shown some of the reports published during the past year dealing with the behaviour of some of the State officers. Asked for his experience on the subject, he said :—“ Although, naturally, I do not know personally of all the barbarities spoken of, I am sorry to say that notwithstanding denials from State officials on the spot and from Brussels, they are, as a whole, only too true. Since 1884 the condition of the natives has gone from bad to worse, and the reasons are not far to seek. They are—(1), the absolute inexperience of most of the officers; (2), the impossibility of checking their actions from head-quarters. For the most part officers arrive straight from Belgian towns. They have probably never been outside their own country before; and on being suddenly thrust with almost unlimited power among conditions that are strange, dangerous, unhealthy, and depressing, it is no wonder that they lose their heads and adopt their own means of obtaining rapid promotion and wealth, in order the sooner to return to Europe. Hence the endless cases of brutality that occur. These are denied officially, but I will mention one or two cases which came under my immediate notice. Take, for instance, the much-denied stories of cutting off hands and ears. On one occasion at Bopoto, having dined with Lieutenant BLOCHTEUR, whose steamer was moored with mine alongside the quay, I was smoking with him on the bank; it was late in the evening, when suddenly a force of his native troops returned from an expedition on which he had sent them in the morning. The sergeant held up triumphantly a number of ears fastened together on a string, and brought with him some half a dozen native prisoners. No white officer had been with these soldiers, and they were praised for their success, and ordered to go next day to capture the chief. In some cases this kind of thing goes on in the presence of the State officers; but very often they are not on the scene; they have gone off to lunch, or are on their steamers dining, while the soldiers plunder, ravage, or murder to their heart's content. My agent (a Belgian) at our station of Iringi, told me that during the operations in that village, the officer in command (Lieutenant DE KEYSER) was actually lunching at an adjacent Dutch

factory while his troops were raiding right and left. After this raid the old chief came to my agent and showed him the mutilated body of his daughter, whose feet had actually been hacked off so that the soldiers might obtain the heavy brass anklets she wore, and which were worth probably a few pence. On my return the girl's grave was opened, and I saw for myself what had taken place. On voyage once, in July, 1895, from Equator Station to Bangala, I met a canoe, in charge of a native sergeant of the *force publique*, returning to Coquilhatville. They encamped for the night close to us. The sergeant told me that the natives of the village on the opposite bank to where we were then encamped had not furnished their proper tribute of rubber, but that he had fully made up for it. He then showed me a gruesome little native cloth bag filled with some half-dozen hands of negroes. Whenever these native soldiers make war upon a village they scarcely by any chance kill able-bodied men—almost always old men, women, and children; very frequently the white officer, who, as I have said, more often than not keeps judiciously in the background, comes up after the fight and utters not a word of reprimand to his men when he sees the hacked bodies of women and children lying about the raided village. One of the most horrible instances of cruelty that ever came to my knowledge occurred in the district of Quéllé. A Belgian officer, a lieutenant, had been despatched with a force of men to a village to capture the chief, who had been guilty of some fault against the Government. The force arrived in the village, but only found it apparently deserted; in rummaging in the huts for plunder, however, they came upon two women, mother and daughter, who had not had time to get away, owing to the mother being ill; they were brought up before the officer in command, who demanded of them where their chief was in hiding. The women either did not know or would not tell. The officer could only get the same answer from them after repeated inquiries, and, finally, lost his temper. He ordered them to be secured, and laid out on the ground, where they were held down by eight of his strongest men, and a stalwart soldier then proceeded to administer fifty strokes of 'chickotte' to each. The 'chickotte' is a strip of dried hippopotamus hide, about five feet long, and an inch wide at the butt end, tapering down to a thin, cruel lash. After fifty lashes had been administered, the lieutenant again asked them for information as to the whereabouts of the chief, only to receive the same answer. The flogging continued until each had received two hundred lashes. Finally, this Belgian officer ordered his men to cut off the breasts of the women, and then left them to die where they lay. Some time after, this officer came down country, and in passing Tchimbi—one of the stations on the Itimbery—he stopped, as all white men do when passing another white man's station. My chief agent and his second came down to the river bank to receive the visitor; but, when they saw who it was, they politely requested him to get into his canoe again, at the same time saying that they could not possibly give hospitality to assassins.

"I am happy to be able to give the names of these two Belgians who thus refused to associate themselves with such a ruffian, although of their own country and State; the officers are MM. NORRISON and LOINTAIN. These are instances of the kind of warfare that is waged against the Congo people, and is at the bottom of the unsettled condition of the State. High State officials can scarcely be blamed; they do what they can to improve matters, but it is impossible to deal with this sort of thing from Boma. What control can possibly be had on the actions of headstrong young officers several weeks' journey distant? Many here in Europe are perhaps not aware that Belgian officers receive considerable commission on ivory and rubber they collect, in many cases amounting to twenty-five and fifty per cent. of value. A

year or two ago, the Belgian officials even received so much per head for Slaves they sent down to the training camps of Buzoks, Equator, Kinohassa, and others. I have often seen the Slave steamer coming down the river packed with Slaves—State men call them *libérés*—sitting on deck in rows, without a spare inch to move in, and at night, when the steamer stops, chased ashore into the bush to find shelter as they may. I have often seen the poor wretches huddled together in groups around trunks of trees, trying to shelter themselves from the pelting rain of a tropical tornado. Many who go ashore in the evening never come aboard again in the morning. Numbed with cold and chattering with fever, too ill to crawl on board, they are left to die there in the forest. The captains of steamers used to get five francs per head per Slave delivered at Kinohassa. So of course they used to cram as many as possible on board their boats. Steamers that ought really never to have had more than 200 on board I have seen packed with over 400 of these miserable wretches. In different districts of Ubanghi, Quéllé, Aruwimi, Stanley Falls, and others, many of the native chiefs have to furnish so many Slaves per month. Naturally, these chiefs do not give their own people, but organise plundering expeditions, and attack neighbouring villages weaker than themselves, capture all they can, and bring them to the State officials. These *libérés* are mostly employed in the *force publique*, or on the coffee plantations. Of course the State gives them a nominal salary, and an engagement for seven years, but I never yet met a *libéré* who had finished his contract.

"I have said that commission on *libérés* has been abolished, but I still have good reason to believe that very substantial gratuities are given to those officers who show themselves most zealous in this pursuit. The statement that the Congo State sells guns and powder to natives for ivory and rubber is also absolutely correct; I have seen thousands of cases of Le Fauchaux pin-fire double-barrel and muzzle-loading rifles, cartridges, and powder, sent off from Stanley Pool to the Upper Congo, Kasai, and Quéllé. Traders on the Congo cannot import powder and flint locks higher than Kasai mouth. The Congo State is beginning to pay the cost of this iniquitous trade now. Just before I left the whole of the Aruwimi district had revolted, and turned their guns and powder against those from whom they had purchased them. The district of Onili was also in a most disturbed and dangerous condition, some of the big chiefs there—such as SEMIO and BUNGASSO—having many hundreds of guns at their command, all sold to them by Belgians."

Asked, in conclusion, if he could throw any fresh light on the STOKES affair, Mr. PARMINTER said: "No, I do not know that I have any fresh direct evidence. That STOKES died because he was a most active competitor in amassing ivory I do not for a moment doubt. The last time I saw Major LOTHAIRE was at Rome, near Stanley Falls. He was on his way to Lake Albert Edward, and he told me that he was going to find a countryman of mine, and 'if he caught him let him look out for himself.' When I was on my way home I frequently had altercations with the Belgians on board about the STOKES affair. One of their remarks struck me most forcibly: 'C'est bien heureux pour nous qu'il était Anglais; s'il avait été Français ou Allemand, nous n'aurions jamais entendu la fin de cette affaire. Les Anglais sont des commerçants; ils acceptent de l'argent même pour la chair humaine'—this in allusion to the fine that was paid to the family of the unfortunate STOKES. Surely a greater effort might have been made to get at the truth of the STOKES business. Why was LOTHAIRE not tried by an International Court here in Europe? It would at least have been more satisfactory than the judicial farce that was enacted some time ago in Brussels."

—*Reuter.*

Parliamentary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *July 31st.*

KAFIRISTAN.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH (Flintshire): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for India, whether the India Office has received a copy of the letter from the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN of the 4th December, 1895, referred to in paragraph 4 of the Despatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated Simla, 22nd April, 1896; whether he has received the information asked for in his Despatch of 17th April respecting military operations and the fate of the tribes in Kafiristan; and, whether he will lay all the correspondence referring to Kafiristan on the table of the House before the rising of Parliament.

The Secretary of State for India (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Middlesex, Ealing): A copy of the AMIR's letter referred to has been received at the India Office, but it relates to other matters besides that referred to in the passage quoted, and it would not be in the public interest to lay it on the table. My Despatch of the 17th April was crossed by the letter from the Government of India of the 22nd idem. No subsequent reply has been received from the Government of India. There is no further correspondence relating to Kafiristan which I can lay on the table.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August 6th.*

SLAVERY AT ZANZIBAR.

Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE (Northumberland, Tyneside).—I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, as stated in the *Zanzibar Gazette* of 1st July, Mr. Commissioner A. H. HARDINGE has left Zanzibar for a six months' holiday, and what steps, in that event, Her Majesty's Government propose to take to carry out the pledge given to Parliament on 27th March last, that Mr. HARDINGE would go back to Zanzibar in the autumn with instructions to carry out immediately the abolition of the legal status of Slavery?

Colonel DENNY (Kilmarnock Burghs).—I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, what action the Government intend to take in fulfilment of their promise to consider the abolition of the status of Slavery in Zanzibar, in view of the fact that Consul-General HARDINGE has arrived in this country?

Mr. CURZON.—Her Majesty's Government are already engaged in considering, in consultation with Mr. HARDINGE, the best method of carrying out the pledges which they gave to the House earlier in the year.

Mr. DALZIEL.—I understood the pledge to be that this would be carried out during the autumn.

Mr. CURZON.—No, that it would be carried out on the return of Mr. HARDINGE to Zanzibar. I do not exactly know the date of his return.

SLAVE-TRADE IN MOROCCO.

Mr. JOSEPH A. PEASE.—I beg to ask the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether, seeing that large numbers of Slaves are from time to time being openly sold in Mogador and other seaport towns in Morocco, contrary to prohibition, Her Majesty's Government will communicate with the British Minister at Tangier, with a view to representations being made to the Government of Morocco against the continuance of this traffic?

Mr. CURZON.—Instructions have from time to time been sent to successive British Ministers at Tangier to take every favourable opportunity for urging on the

SULTAN the suppression of the traffic in Slaves. As recently as March last Sir ARTHUR NICOLSON was reminded of these instructions, which there was no doubt that he had borne in mind. He will, however, be asked to report upon the matter.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *August 11th.*

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN EAST AFRICA.

Sir C. DILKE asked the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs whether an arrangement was made by the British East Africa Company, in February, 1890, by which Slaves escaping from their owners were to be pursued and brought back to their masters by the Company's police; and whether the Company declared in it that, in the case of fugitives taking refuge outside the Zanzibar dominions, and under the British flag, villages affording asylums to fugitives would be attacked; and whether Her Majesty's Government put an end to this agreement.

Mr. CURZON: An arrangement was made in the time of the Imperial British East Africa Company that Slaves escaping from their owners should, under certain circumstances, be returned by the Company's police to them. Her Majesty's Government, however, on assuming the administration of the Protectorate, at once issued a Proclamation discontinuing the practice.

The late Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe.

COPY OF MINUTE passed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY at their Meeting held July 3rd, 1896:—

Resolved,—That this Committee, having heard of the death of Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE at an advanced age, desire to express their sympathy with the members of her family and near friends.

That the name of this distinguished writer brings vividly before the Committee the remembrance of the great work of Emancipation, in which she took so distinguished a part by the almost inspired descriptions of the horrors of Slavery contained in her remarkable works of fiction, more particularly in that most startling book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

That whilst referring with interest to the accounts published in its archives of the welcome given to Mrs. STOWE in 1853, and to the enthusiastic meetings held by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the Committee are painfully reminded that not only the noble Chairman, the EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, but every member of their body who then extended the welcome of the Society to the distinguished authoress, has preceded her into the spirit world. Nevertheless, the work in which Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE took so important a part must be carried on by those who succeed the early and the present labourers in the cause of human freedom. The Committee often feel, as did their forerunners, the truth of the Divinely uttered words,

"Truly the harvest is great, but the labourers are few."

On behalf of the Committee,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,
Secretary.

The Extermination of the Kafirs.

WE have before us several important papers bearing upon the question of the Kafirs and their extermination or enslavement by the AMIR. Space does not permit of our publishing a lengthy article in the present number upon this subject ; but as a pæan over the Conquest of Kafiristan has been issued, on the authority (it is stated) of the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN himself, in which a description is given of the Afghan proceedings, we give a brief summary of such document, which will be found in full in the forthcoming number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, with an advance sheet of which we have been favoured. The same *Review* will also contain an important article on the question from the pen of a Missionary.

The pæan opens with a laudatory account of the action of ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN, and refers to the fact that he "has always been anxious to break down the Kafir tribe and the heretics, and he therefore ordered his first officer in command to clear the country of unbelievers, as one does a garden of its thorns." The officer in command, GHULAM HAIDER, started accordingly with a strong army from Asmar, and, reaching Sau, stayed there for a few days, inviting the various tribes of Kafirs to become Mohammedans and submit to the AMIR. Some of the principal Kafirs came before him, and he strongly urged upon them the advisability of their becoming Mussulmans, in order to prevent their extermination by his army. To their request that he would give them time for consideration, the Afghan Commander-in-chief assented, and, as the Kafir leaders did not return, he continued his march, but seeing that the place was far distant, the mountains very high, and the passes narrow, whilst the passage in the mountains was very difficult, he resorted to the device of sending for "some infidels before him, one, two, three, or four coming from each *kandi*: on the one hand he talked to them *the words of fear and peace*, and on the other put a party to the work of constructing a road." He professed to leave to the Kafirs a choice of embracing the religion of Mohammed, but impressed upon their mind his determination to subjugate them. To this they replied that he might count upon them as under the King's subjection, but "*if he had in his mind any idea whatever of converting them to Mohammedanism they would set fire to their houses and run away.*" They said that if he did not forcibly thrust the Mohammedan religion on them, they would have no hesitation in submitting, and would pay whatever tribute was levied on them ; but there was no place to station troops in the country. If he did not believe them, he could send one or two men to inquire for themselves the resources and wealth of the country, and they would hold their tribute in readiness. GHULAM HAIDER therefore sent with the Kafirs two envoys, whilst he and his army marched to Barkut, staying there till winter had arrived, and snow fallen. On the return of the envoys, who reported the difficulties with which he would have to contend, the Afghan commander said that "*for the time being*

he would to all appearance remain satisfied with the tribute paid by the infidels," and would wait till the snow falling on the mountains would close against them the flight on every side. He then reported to the AMIR, who invested him with full powers, whilst the Kafirs brought down the tribute. In spite of bribes and threats, however, he failed to induce any of the chiefs of the tribes to come in, and he eventually ordered every one of his soldiers to fight. The religious leader of the Kafirs (and some twenty men) having fallen into the hands of the Afghan army, GHULAM HAIDER informed him that, owing to the malice and devilry of the infidels, he was obliged to reduce them to a distressed condition, and desired him to send one of his men to Kafiristan to proclaim the advent of the victorious army of the AMIR. One of the men was accordingly despatched on this mission, the religious leader and his party being kept under arrest. A few Kafirs of Khardish village embraced Mohammedanism, and they were appointed guides. The Afghan commander then ordered that about the time when prayers are said before going to bed, an attack should be made upon the Kafirs from all sides of the river.

He himself, on the 19th November, 1895, started on foot, travelling till next day, owing to the difficulties of the mountains and hills, the tops of which were strewn with Kafir villages, with houses full of wealth. No sooner had the arrival of the army become known than the Kafirs set fire to their houses and took to flight, being pursued and some of them put to death; but most of them escaped and concealed themselves in mountains and caves. For three days the slaughter and looting continued, during which time eight villages submitted to the Afghans, a large amount of plunder being distributed amongst the soldiers.

On the fourth day the army marched to the city of Kam Dosh, but the citizens set fire to their dwellings and fled, as well as the inhabitants of Kastuz. Both these cities, together with the villages, were conquered, *"their inhabitants were put to the sword, or ruined, and their property and wealth were plundered by the king's army. Many, both men and women, were killed by the guns of the king's army when flying from there."*

Those who fled gathered at Munda Gul and were joined by many from Kantuzi, until some 6,000 were mustered there. But after some three hours fighting, large numbers were killed, the rest betaking themselves to flight, and Munda Gul fell into the hands of the Afghans. Having now no place to which to flee, the survivors asked the new converts to Mohammedanism to intervene on their behalf, expressing their readiness to embrace the faith of Islam. Sixty persons with their wives and children came to GHULAM HAIDER and embraced Mohammedanism, *"but before this came to pass, the Wuta (religious leader of the infidels) and twenty men with him were killed in the midst of the Mohammedans of Katar."*

Other tribes then agreed to become converted, and "mosques were erected on the ruins of the temples." "The king's army took possession of

all the guns, swords, arrows, bows, daggers, cannons procurable in the place, for he was of opinion that in the first place one must kill wasps and scorpions, but if he saves their life he must take out of them their sting."

Remaining villages subsequently submitted, and so Kafiristan was conquered completely except the mountains of Lamkan and Takab. An army was therefore sent by the AMIR from the west, and subdued that portion. From Lamkan, it was reported that several villages, "and everything which belonged there to the infidels, had been trampled down by the army of the Mohammedans." "Most of the people there were consumed in the fire of hell, and the rest escaped death by embracing the Mohammedan religion."

The description concludes by stating that: "Finally when the infidels of Lamkan, Takab and Panj Sher came into the possession of the king, there remained no part of the Kafir dominion unconquered, and thus the whole of Kafiristan was conquered without the least shadow of doubt."

Kafiristan and the Kafir Tribes.

UNDER this heading, the *Calcutta Review*, for July, 1896, contains a long article from the pen of Major H. G. RAVERTY, in which the writer traces the history of the Kafir tribes of the Hindu Khush from the oldest times down to the opening of the late campaign of extermination by the AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN. We regret that space prevents our inserting extracts from this interesting article, which will well repay reading.

The description of a mission to the Kafirs contained in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for July, 1865, will be found of painful interest now that this remnant of the ancient races of the world has practically been exterminated, enslaved, or forced to become Mohammedans, in spite of the remonstrances of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY and other Societies.

Selections from Proceedings of Committee.

It has been suggested that a brief notice, from time to time, of the proceedings of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY would be appreciated by some of the readers of the *Reporter*. We shall therefore endeavour to meet the views of our friends whenever it is possible to do so without prejudicing any special line of action.

COMMITTEE MEETING, *July 3rd*.—The question of SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA occupied the main portion of the sitting, questions in Parliament and correspondence with the Foreign Office being considered. A letter of thanks to BISHOP TUCKER for his action and that of some of his clergy with respect to Slavery in East Africa (including Zanzibar, etc.) was unanimously voted. Mr. HENRY STANLEY NEWMAN (present as a visitor) addressed the Committee with reference

to the proposed establishment of an Industrial Institution in Pemba, after the abolition of Slavery, and three members were appointed to consult on the subject with the Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee.

Correspondence with respect to Slavery in German East Africa was read; also a communication from Mr. J. THEODORE BENT, on the Slave-trade on the western shores of the Red Sea.

The abuse of the *protégé* system in Morocco was brought to the notice of the Committee, and letters were directed to be sent to the Ministers of Brazil and the United States of America on this subject, in its relation to the Slave-trade.

A vote of sympathy with the relatives and friends of Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE was unanimously passed.

COMMITTEE MEETING, *August 7th.*—Zanzibar and Pemba again mainly occupied the attention of the Committee, and a sub-Committee was appointed to watch the progress of affairs in Zanzibar and Pemba.

Questions relating to Morocco and Kafiristan were also discussed.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA, *August 19th.*—The sub-Committee met, and adopted a Memorial to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY with respect to the abolition of the legal status of Slavery. This will be found on pages 188 *et seq.*

Morocco.

A SLAVE SALE.

(From the "DAILY TELEGRAPH," Aug. 15th.)

THERE has just returned to London a gentleman, Mr. G. HERBERT PHILLIPS, who, in the course of ten months' wandering, spent nine or ten weeks in the dominions of the SULTAN OF MOROCCO. Adapting himself to the Arab life, he bade adieu to civilisation at Tangier, and with his caravan penetrated about 1,200 miles into the interior. This expedition was undertaken with neither commercial, scientific, political, nor geographical object. Deciding to winter abroad, Mr. PHILLIPS left England last October, and having completed a tour in Italy, the Riviera, and Spain, it occurred to him to run across to Tangiers, where, his interest being excited, he determined to see what Moorish life was like in the districts where European influence is not directly felt. He fitted out a caravan, and, passing with his interpreters and attendants from place to place, visited every town of importance in the Northern half of Morocco, including Fez Meckinez, and Morocco city. He even penetrated into some of the little-known Sus country, and passed through the territory of the BENI HASAN tribe, one of the most dangerous in Morocco, or even in the continent of Africa. Although this journey was undertaken merely as a pleasure tour, Mr. PHILLIPS gave to a representative yesterday some of his impressions and experiences. The house in which Mr. PHILLIPS stayed at Fez, was the same as that which Sir EUAN SMITH occupied when he made his memorable visit there, some few years back. "I asked my host," said Mr. PHILLIPS, "whether there was a Slave market at Fez, as I was curious, if such were the case, to visit it. He told me there was, and that he would inquire when there would be a sale. The result of the inquiry was that on the evening of Sunday, May 31st last, I was conducted to what had the appearance of an old-fashioned market-place. There was an open square, and round was a kind of arcade, in which the people sat. The Slaves, who were Soudanese negresses, brought up from the Soudan through the desert in caravans, were ranged

in a recess in the corner. The Slave dealers, healthy and substantial looking men, led out each of the Slaves in turn, and in Arabic shouted out the merits of each. These Slave sales are invariably held in the evening, the idea being that if there are any imperfections in face or figure they are less likely to be noticed in the twilight. Eight women and two girls were offered for sale, and before the actual bidding commenced the intending purchasers went up to the recess in which the Slaves were waiting and examined them closely. The first woman brought out was one apparently about twenty-two years of age, although she might have been less, as they age very quickly. She was dressed in a kind of calico covering with a girdle. There was bidding in the usual auction way, the dealers going round and shouting out the offers as they were made. The bidding was, of course, in Moorish money, and the first woman was bought for a sum equivalent in English to nearly £10. Then a young girl of perhaps ten years was sold, the price in her case being about £11. During all this I was standing under the arcade, but, being dressed in an ordinary English tourist suit, I kept behind the Moors who accompanied me, and, so far, had been unobserved. I was aware that the Moors object to any stranger being present at these sales, as they do not wish information about the traffic to get abroad. I had seen the two sold, and in the case of the girl the scene was heart-rending, as she cried bitterly and was greatly distressed. I could stand it no longer, and walked out into the middle of the square, and the large attendance of Moors present then saw that a European was there. They gathered together in little groups, there was a hurried whispering amongst them, the unsold Slaves were formally marched off, and the Moors dispersed, most of those present proceeding to the great Mosque near by." Mr. PHILLIPS proceeded to point out that it would have been useless for him to purchase any of the Slaves and set them free. Besides giving an encouragement to Slave-dealing, it would be mistaken philanthropy. About two years ago a European, acting from the best motives, purchased through a Moor at this same Slave market one of these Soudanese girls, and gave her her liberty, but as he could not provide for her permanently, and she could not go back to her own country, the result was deplorable. Mr. PHILLIPS has a profound belief in the resources of Morocco, but a very poor opinion of the people. Its mineral wealth is absolutely unbounded, gold, silver, antimony, coals, marble, slate, salt—all available for our needs—almost within a fortnight of London. Enough grain could be grown in Morocco to feed Great Britain, and there are enormous numbers of bullocks and sheep. As to the Moors, this matter of Slavery is not the only reproach which is to be laid against them. However, Slavery is recognized by the law of Morocco. The sale of a Slave is accompanied by the exchange of a legal document, and these Slave markets—although that at Fez was in a secluded place, being reached through narrow lanes and private paths—are regularly maintained as such, and are so called. But if anything can be done it must be through Great Britain, for whom the Moors have a respect and many of them a strong liking. Mr. PHILLIPS saw much of Sherif MULAI EL HADJ, a relative of the present SULTAN, and the most influential man in Southern Morocco, who is a British subject. He, as the title Sherif implies, is a direct descendant of Mahomet. When the present SULTAN, a young man of about nineteen, was placed upon the throne, the Sherif was probably regarded as a dangerous person, and, as there were plots against him, he came down to Tangier and put himself under British protection. In him England has a staunch friend, whose influence would always be exercised for the advancement of civilisation and the development of English trade.

The Slave-Trade in Morocco.

OUR contemporary *Al Moghreb al Aksa*, of the 1st August, publishes the following letter from a correspondent at El-K'sar Kebir, under date July 25th :—

I have this day witnessed the shameful sight of the public sale of a negress of about twenty-five years of age, by name M'BARKA, belonging to SID MOHAMMED EL OUDÏ, of Wazzan, who, having found there no one to pay the price he wants for his female Slave, sent her here to the Sunday market, hoping there will be higher bidders in this place.

She is strong, good-looking, tall, and, indeed, a well-built maiden, and, after examination by experts, has been estimated to be worth eighty dollars. As I write she is passing near my house, and the *del-lal*, or auctioneer, calls out the bid going, fifty-four dollars !

While this revolting spectacle is taking place on shore, at the ports the warships of civilisation hoist the Shereefian flag, and honour it with a royal salvo of twenty-one guns.

(Through REUTER'S AGENCY.)

TANGIER, August 16th.

The resignation of SID MOHAMMED TORRES, though not entirely unexpected, was nevertheless received with surprise. He has repeatedly solicited the SULTAN to allow him to retire, but was as repeatedly requested to continue in his post. The courteous and attentive manner in which SID FORRES listened to all those—Moors, Christians, or Jews—whose business with the Moorish Government brought them in contact with him, won him general esteem. He was an official whose word could be relied upon, and was known among the Christians and Jews as "the SULTAN'S Minister that did not lie." His tact, geniality, and probity have often spared the Government many sharp letters, if nothing worse, from Foreign Representatives, as they were always willing to accord him all the grace possible, consistent with their duty. He acted as a buffer, and an effectual one, between the Foreign Ministers and the Shereefian Court. He is retiring to enjoy the tranquillity of his Tetuan home, to which he will carry the good wishes of all who know him.

His successor, SID MOHAMMED LEBADY, bears an excellent reputation, and has a good official record, one of the posts he has occupied being that of Chief Amir of the Tangier Customs House. The Mogador, Saffi, Mazagan, and Casablanca merchants, after having almost despaired of ever getting their debts owing by the Moors in the interior paid, are now led to believe that they may look forward to a speedy settlement of some, if not all, their claims. This has been brought about by the visit of Mr. ALLAN MACLEAN, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Casablanca, and under whose jurisdiction are all the above-mentioned ports. The knowledge that the British Government has at last decided to interest itself in the recovery of money so long overdue has caused the liveliest satisfaction amongst the British merchants, not only in the southern, but also in the northern ports. It is expected that trade will improve, as the merchants, finding they have some security for their money, will again extend credit to country Moors.

Though repeated promises have been given by the Moorish Government to Foreign Representatives, above all British, that the Slave-trade should be abolished in the coast towns, many secret sales take place notwithstanding. Hardly three weeks after the return of the last British Mission, a notorious Slave-dealer, HADJ EL

MEDBOH, had the assurance to bring a batch of fourteen young negresses here for sale. The authorities received prompt information of the fact, and quickly made Tangier too hot to hold him, so without being able to make any sales, he had to beat a hasty retreat into the interior, where he would have complete liberty to ply his nefarious trade. But the above is not the worst. Letters received from Saffi—the residence of European Vice-Consuls and Consular Agents of all nations, one of the principal commercial towns on the coast, and inhabited by a large number of Europeans—confirm the report of the public sale of Slaves in that town. Only the other day the Shereefian auctioneer was publicly offering two girls for sale for eighty-six dollars.

MR. G. HERBERT PHILLIPS, writing from 98, Piccadilly, says:—"With reference to the interview which your representative had with me recently, on my return from a tour through Morocco, and which was reported under the heading 'A Slave Sale,' in your issue of Wednesday, August 5th last, I have received a letter from Fez, dated August 31, from the Moor who accompanied me to the Slave market in that city. In it he says:—'I received the *Daily Telegraph* which you sent me, and am very much obliged to you for your kindness. I congratulate you on the truthfulness of all you wrote in it. I have the pleasure of telling you that this article was a success; the law has passed that in a month the sale of Slaves will be stopped. Good, is it not?' I think this must refer to the abolition of the public Slave market in Fez, for it is almost too much to believe that the SULTAN has ordered the total suppression of the private Slave-trade which is carried on throughout his dominions. However that may be, the news is extremely gratifying that any orders may have been given to stop, in any way, this hideous traffic in human beings. 'The article which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* was brought under the notice of a number of influential Moors in Fez and Morocco cities, and I have no doubt whatever that the publicity you so thoughtfully gave to the subject duly reached and impressed the SULTAN and his advisers, with the direct result now made known.'"—*Daily Telegraph*, September 18th.

Slave Raiding in Nyasaland.

(From the late E. J. GLAVE'S *Journals*.)

THE *Century Magazine*, of August, 1896, continues the publication of the discursive notes of travel in Africa, left by the late intrepid young explorer, who, after completing a very dangerous journey across the Dark Continent, died of fever at the mouth of the Congo whilst waiting for the homeward steamer, in May, 1895. His voluminous journals were evidently jottings of daily occurrences, made with a view to writing papers for the spirited magazine on whose behalf he visited Africa. In the number of the *Century* above alluded to are descriptive accounts of raids upon Slave-hunters by British forces in Nyasaland, resulting in the discomfiture and death of some of the most notorious and cruel of the Slave-raiders. Mr. GLAVE took part in some of these expeditions, and appears to have taken photographs of Arabs and natives, many of which are very interesting, and are well reproduced in the

Century Magazine. One represents a large and important capture of Slaves made on Lake Nyasa, by Lieutenant VILLIERS, of the British gunboat *Pioneer*, and another is a portrait of a black Slave-hunter fastened into a Slave-yoke, and looking very penitent and uncomfortable.

The death of Mr. GLAVE, just at the termination of his eventful journey, has deprived the world of a bold and fearless explorer, and of a thoroughly honest and enthusiastic Abolitionist, who, had he been spared, might have rendered good service to the Anti-Slavery Cause at a time when so many are weak-kneed and time-serving.

We do not re-publish the stories of the hard fighting that took place in Nyasa, many of which are, no doubt, to be found in Mr. Commissioner JOHNSTON'S reports to the Foreign Office, but we give a few extracts relating to Slaves and Slavers, that will be interesting to those who study the question of the pitiless raiding that is desolating such large portions of Central and Eastern Africa.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. GLAVE'S JOURNALS.

"*July 18, 1893.*—Arrived at Aden at eight this morning. The *Peshawur* sailed away about noon. We found awaiting us the *Kilwa*, in which we are to travel to the Zambesi. I met DUALLA, STANLEY'S old servant. He is the husband of three wives, wears a beard, and with an air of great importance sails about Aden in flowing robes of silk; evidently he is much respected. He is a Somali by birth. I gave him STANLEY'S address, to whom he will write. He says he is writing a book of his experiences.

"*August 1.*—Reached Zanzibar about noon. It seems to be in a very quiet state; the natives are cheerfully submissive to British authority, and there is every sign of the decay of Arab influence. The Slave-trade is very quiet, though natives of Zanzibar are nearly all Slaves. Sir JOHN KIRK, an authority, says that only five per cent. of the Slaves shipped to Pemba are caught by the British gunboats; ninety-five per cent. get away. Only recently a dhow was caught having fifty-three aboard. The dhow was flying French colours, and the Slaves were from the district near Lake Nyassa. In olden times there was a tax on each Slave coming into Zanzibar; then if a Slave was ill beyond the possibility of recovery, his master killed him rather than run the risk of his dying before he could be sold.

"When a dhow is chased, the Arabs always tell the Slaves not to be captured, because the white men will eat them; by thus intimidating them they get their captives to escape from the war-ship's boats when the dhow is run ashore. Slaves are well cared for when they reach Zanzibar; they soon forget their past hardships, and get strong and well, and are apparently happy and contented. There are large clove plantations here, which yield a profit only when worked by Slave labour. Slaves are still reaching the coast, but the difficulties are now so great that comparatively few caravans make the attempt.

"*August 17.*—Last night the cutter of the flag-ship *Raleigh* caught a dhow with five Slaves on board. The dhow was flying French colours, so that this morning the French consul took charge of her; she will be condemned, and her Slaves sent to the missions to be educated. It is, of course, against the law to sell and buy Slaves in Zanzibar, but it is always being done in spite of the law. TIPPOO TIB is said to own

about 6,000 Slaves here in Zanzibar. He is now trading legitimately, and owns much property.

"September 3.—Left Zanzibar at daylight by the steamer *African*.

"September 9.—Consul Ross told me day before yesterday that a great many Slaves leave the coast of Africa between Quilimane and Mozambique, and are taken to Madagascar and the Comoro Islands. Off the mouth of the Chindé I was met by A. G. HUNT, and invited by him to be his guest on board the British gunboat *Herald*, an invitation which I gladly accepted. The gunboats are on the river to check both Portuguese and Slave-raiding influences. The Portuguese are still dealing in Slaves. Here at Chindé the British have a concession of territory from the Portuguese, and anything landed within the limits of the concession pays no duty. This great benefit to commerce seriously affects the Portuguese customs revenues. All the trade is going into the British concession, the Portuguese always making small trouble about small difficulties. The Portuguese commandant lives in a grass hut still, though his nation has been here for four hundred years.

"September 12.—To-day we left Chindé on board the *Herald*. This boat and the *Mosquito* make small exploring trips up stream. We left at 12 noon, and steamed up the channel to the right of the Chindé; after a while we reached a very narrow but deep channel, passed several villages, and entered the Zambesi about 6 at night. The experiment successfully proves a new way into the Zambesi from the coast. The natives along the bank were very friendly; the women courtesy in a graceful way. The men in our boat threw biscuits to the natives, for which they appeared very grateful, clapping their hands, grinning, and scraping their feet on the ground.

"September 24.—Left Chindé on board the *John Bowie* to-day. The Zambesi is a magnificent highway to the heart of Africa, and is playing a great part in the suppression of the Slave-trade.

"October 12.—We learn that MKANDA, whose village was burned, has retaliated by attacking the mission and burning some of the houses and looting their stores. JOHNSON, EDWARDS, MANNING, BELL, 100 Sikhs, 100 carriers, and a seven-pounder, have gone to inflict retribution. MKANDA is a large Slave-owner, and derives a big profit from commerce in powder and guns, which he obtains through the territories of the Portuguese in spite of the Brussels Act. Only recently a lot of powder was captured by the British, some of it bearing French labels, some of it having passed through German territory, and bearing the marks of the German custom-house. Such men as MKANDA are the middlemen in the traffic of ivory, Slaves, and ammunition. Fort Lister is about 4,000 feet above the sea level on the mountain pass between Mtebin and Milanji. It is a most picturesque position. Away to the southward stretches a vast valley divided between grass plains and timber, thickly populated, with here and there mountains upon which live powerful chieftains. They are all Slavers, and have selected mountain homes for safety. They are good fighting men, and fearless.

"November 1.—Left Mpimbi this morning. The African Lakes Company have become so careful that they compel their agents to pay their own funeral expenses; so many agents died that an order was actually issued compelling the agents to die at their own expense. For a long while the Company has enjoyed a monopoly of trade.

"November 5.—This morning I marched, with Major JOHNSON and 100 Sikhs, from Fort Johnston to the southern end of Lake Nyasa. There is an expedition on foot to fight some of the Slavers in the neighbourhood. The two gunboats, *Adventure* and *Pioneer*, are employed, and also the *Ilala* and *Dormira*, two boats belonging to

the African Lakes Company. H. H. JOHNSTON, the Commissioner, is travelling on the *Adventure*; Major JOHNSON, Captain EDWARDS, Dr. WATSON and I are passengers on the *Dormira*, and also 100 Sikhs and ten Makua gunners.

"Reached Kota-Kota, a third of the way up the west shore, the stronghold of JUMBÉ, the Queen's representative on Lake Nyassa; formerly he was called SULTAN JUMBÉ, as representative of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, but on the advent of the British Central African administration he entered their service. Now, some of his sub-chiefs have risen against him, principal among them being KIWAURA, who lives within a few miles of Kota-Kota. He has recently made a raid on JUMBÉ's settlement, burned seventy-five huts, and carried away forty of his people. As this territory is under the British flag, the administration is bound to defend JUMBÉ, especially as KIWAURA is a Slave-raider. Kota-Kota is a big, straggling village, composed of grass and clay huts, peopled by JUMBÉ's followers, Slaves, Arabs, etc. Every important household is surrounded by a grass-padded fence.

"KIWAURA was originally a Slave of JUMBÉ's, but gradually developed by Slave-raiding and ivory trading into a powerful chief; then he refused to submit to any authority. When JUMBÉ has sent messengers to him, KIWAURA has cut off their heads and stuck them on his palisades, or mutilated them; one man returned with only two fingers on his hand, and between these a note was found firmly lashed. KIWAURA held to his defiant attitude till the Sikhs were charging through his stockade with fixed bayonets; then he escaped, wounded, into a swamp at the rear of his stockade. As he was plunging through the swamp he was shot in the head, and lay half submerged in the shade of a palm tree. His fortification must have been directed by a mind far superior to that of the ordinary savage; the intelligence of the white man was distinctly apparent.

"The territory north and east and west of Nyassa is peopled with descendants of Zulus. In the time of the reign of CHAKA several thousand Zulus rebelled and left Zululand; they marched away in one big band, crossed the Zambesi, losing many men in the operation, and then struck north and spread all over the country as far as the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. Then many retired south on the west and east side of Nyassa. In the west there are several big Zulu chiefs still in power—MPISENI, MBARA, MWASI, etc.; all have large herds of cattle, and many seem like Zulus proper. All are raiders, known by different names according to the locality, as Angoni, Watuta, etc. They raid the weaker tribes, take them prisoners, treat them well, and do not allow them to have any herds. On the east of Nyassa they are the Wagillis. Throughout Nyasaland the Arabs do but little raiding. The Angoni do the raiding, and all the Slaves are brought to a market centre, where the Arabs buy them and the ivory, and take them to the coast. An established route from Tanganyika to the coast, *via* Nyassa and the Zambesi, will do more than anything else to destroy the Slave-trade.

"November 11.—This morning one of JUMBÉ's dhows, weighted down with human freight, crossed the lake with some Arabs in charge. Probably they were Slaves, but the thing was done so openly that it would be difficult to prove it.

"The growing stockades of the native villages are formed of the euphorbia, a sort of cactus, which branches like an ordinary stunted tree, and forms a mass of foliage composed of sections of solid green pulpy growth. Bullets and cannon-shots take but little effect upon such a boma; the shots pass through and leave the boma bleeding with a thick, creamy white juice, which is poisonous, and, if it enters the eyes, will blind. Such stockades are found everywhere.

"*December 5.*—This evening we reached Deep Bay, near the north end of Nyassa, the station in charge of Mr. CRAWSHAY. It is an exceedingly important place. There are Arab ferries here, and Slave-traders are settled near by in powerful stockades. Only recently the Germans captured 211 Slaves on their way to the coast with ivory. CRAWSHAY knew of their whereabouts for several weeks, but he was powerless to act outside his own earthworks. CRAWSHAY stopped a letter, the other day, from one Slaver to another. In it there was reference to a batch of runaway Slaves, and instructions to cut their throats if they were recaptured.

"Baron VON ELTZ, the German Commissioner, made a plucky attack on a Slave caravan on November 21. For several days he had heard of a big caravan on its way to the coast from MLOZI's stronghold. He had native allies as spies all over the country bringing him in news of the movements and whereabouts of the caravan. At last they encamped in between two large native villages, allies of the Germans. VON ELTZ immediately despatched messengers to the chiefs of the two villages, telling them to stay the caravan from passing through their territory, either to advance or retreat. The caravan was over seven hundred strong; there were seven owners of ivory and fifty-three owners of Slaves, and a host of Slaves and some followers. When VON ELTZ had the caravan blocked, he embarked in his boat, proceeded post-haste to the spot, at once surrounded the whole caravan with native allies, and compelled all to march down to his station at Parambira. He had only five Zanzibari soldiers, a non-commissioned officer, a few native recruits bearing rifles, and a host of native allies; but without firing a shot he captured the caravan. The women and children he transported in his boat to the station; the men marched overland. Upon reaching the station, he questioned the Slaves as to their owners, where they were caught, what ivory was in the caravan, etc. He found it difficult to obtain trustworthy information on the subject. When there is a possibility of the caravan meeting whites, the Slaves are warned not to impart any information. Moreover, they are told that, should they fall into the hands of whites, they will be mercilessly treated and possibly killed.

"*January 27, 1894.*—This afternoon I reached Captain EDWARDS's place, Fort McGuire, and found that he had done much hard work; houses have been built for himself, barracks, etc., and a strong earth stockade, impregnable to any native effort. KASEMBI has built a village near the fort, and some of MAKANJIRA's people have come back and made peace with the whites; others still remain stubbornly hostile.

"*February 2.*—Left Fort Johnston, for a trip south to Blantyre, in the *John Kirk*, a big wooden whale-boat, with Atonga polers. The river is full of crocodiles; people are constantly being taken by them. HOARE shot a big crocodile, and found a pair of bracelets in its stomach. The natives foolishly risk the water every day. They walk in knee-deep to get water, and even swim across the streams. By making a small fence about the place where they get water many lives would be saved; but that means work, and each African thinks he will not be a victim.

"*February 7.*—Reached Blantyre just after lunch, where I visited Vice-Consul SHARPE. Blantyre is the receiving station for Nyassaland. There is any amount of good land suitable for coffee-planting round about, but lack of transportation is the great drawback to the country's development. A railway is needed from Katunga to Matope or Mpimbi, so that steam communication may be established between Nyassa and the sea; a railway of only one hundred miles is necessary. Everybody there looks healthy and robust. I ride as little as possible in a *machila*, a piece of canvas slung on a long bamboo; but it is the only means of transportation one has, except

walking, and a traveller should always be provided with a *machila*, in case of excessive fatigue or indisposition.

"A word as to African insects. In the swamps the mosquito is a vicious little fanatic. He assails you in clouds without the slightest provocation, and remains till killed. He is a keen observer, and if you are sitting in any posture which stretches your garments tightly over your leg, you feel a sharp sting, which tells you the mosquito has noticed the fact. A small hole in your mosquito net he notices at once, and will struggle through it, a wing and leg at a time, and when inside calls to a few friends and tells them the way he entered. They perch on the barrel of your rifle when you are getting a bead on a fidgety buck, and bite in some painful spot just as you are about to pull the trigger. Other insects annoy you. Big moths, inquisitive about your lamp, enter your room at full speed, flutter noisily about your lamp, or try to commit suicide in your soup, leaving the fluff of their wings floating on the surface. The jigger burrows into your flesh, and starts to raise a family in a little white bag beneath the surface of your skin. The proverbial little ant is a terror to mankind. The large brown driver ant, marching in swarms of millions, with giant ants as leaders and officers, is a dreadful enemy. They move over the ground like a dark brown ribbon a foot wide, devouring every living thing they meet, from a grass-hopper to a goat, if the beast cannot escape. Their heads are furnished with terrific nippers; if you are bitten, and attempt to pull away the insect, you will find that the head remains in your flesh. They will enter your house; no matter how well filled your larder was before the visit, it will contain nothing but bones afterward. The white ant does not bite you; his particular province is to destroy your most valuable property—your best trunks, your favourite shoes. In one night he will so attack a wooden box, that when you lift it in the morning the bottom will drop out; he will eat a living eucalyptus tree, and when he is in the district, the poles of your house in a few months' time will crumble into dust. At a certain stage of his existence he has wings, which he sheds at your meal-times into your dishes. Scorpions and tarantula spiders are only occasionally met. Large beetles come from long distances to see you, and end their journey by striking you in the face. Many insects of smaller calibre settle on the back of your neck, and, when you try to brush them off, sneak down your back. Small saw-flies feel particularly curious about your right eye when the left one is closed, and you are trying to get a bead on a buck.

"*March 8.*—We steamed to Lukomo to-day, and visited all the missions. The Lukomo missionaries have spent no time in making themselves comfortable. They have no gardens, and their houses are flimsy things, built of mats principally, and thatched with grass; but they have all good roofs over their heads. They keep the Africans in their places, and they are doing the best they can to improve the character of the native. Late in the afternoon we reached Bandawé, a Livingstonia mission station. Bandawé seems to be noted for its carpentry and brick-making. There is a nice row of cottages built of brick and roofed with grass, and with good doors and windows. There are houses for the whites, a school-house, joinery shop, and a building for printing. There is a fairly good road running parallel with the houses, but it loses itself in the grass three hundred yards from the lake, to which only a tiny path, almost hidden by overhanging grass, leads. A visitor from the lake gets soaked by brushing his way through the dripping grass.

"While at Lukomo, I learned that the Slave-trade in that district is very brisk. Slaves are brought across, over from the Bandawé villages, by way of the Lukomo Islands, to the mainland in Portuguese territory. A week or two ago a large caravan

of two hundred and fifty Slaves, carrying the British flag, started from Unaga for the coast; one of the Slaves was sold for corn. Caravans are constantly crossing, easily avoiding the gunboats, which make infrequent visits to this portion of the lake. Stations are needed at Jumbé's and at Point Rifu, with well-organised intelligence departments attached to each.

The Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

At a recent meeting in support of the claims of the Universities' Missions, held at Hampton Bishop, the Venerable P. S. JONES-BATEMAN, Archdeacon of Zanzibar, gave an interesting account of the foundation and objects of the mission. He observed that it was started some forty years ago on the initiative of LIVINGSTONE, the great African traveller, who was deeply impressed with the horrors he had seen. He made a wonderful speech at Oxford and Cambridge, with the result that it had its effect, and it was decided that a bishop must be ordained and sent out, and mission work commenced among the natives. Speaking of the work at Zanzibar, the Archdeacon mentioned that, as the people were Mohammedans, the work of evangelisation was extremely difficult, and conversion subsequently was slow, but where the work was carried on amid the heathen it was not so hard. A beautiful cathedral had been built on the site of the old Slave market at Zanzibar, but because that was so they must not suppose that Slavery had been abolished. Most of the people one met in Zanzibar were either Slaves or Slave-owners. In fact, Zanzibar was the one place in the world where the British Government was straightforwardly protecting Slavery. No description of the Slave-trade they ever heard came up to the reality. He then described the various agencies the mission had at work, and testified to the earnestness and piety of the natives when converted. The climate did not suit Europeans, and their lives were very short. The Mission looked to the natives themselves for great things, and it was by a native clergy that the country must be Christianised.—*African Times*, September.

Obituary.

DR. GERHARD ROHLFS.

WE regret to be obliged to remove from our list of Corresponding Members the name of this well-known African explorer, who died some time since at Weimar. Dr. ROHLFS was one of those who at one time frequently wrote interesting letters to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

MR. CONSUL HOLMWOOD,

FORMERLY Consul in Zanzibar and the Comoro Islands, and latterly Consul-General in Smyrna, died in September, 1896, in England. At one time we had personal consultations with this active and intelligent Consular Officer.

Sir William Maxwell on Ashanti.

A MEETING of the members of the Manchester Geographical Society and others was held in the Lord Mayor's parlour at the Town Hall, Manchester, yesterday, to hear an address by Sir WILLIAM E. MAXWELL, Governor of the Gold Coast Colony. The Lord Mayor (Mr. Alderman LLOYD) presided.

Sir WILLIAM MAXWELL, who was received with cheers, said that there ought to be no difficulty in future in maintaining peace among all the tribes. Perfect safety for missionaries, if they were only ordinarily prudent, had now been secured, and he was glad to be able to report that when he left Kumassi two missionaries were already there on his invitation, and a site was being prepared for a mission station. (Cheers.) It was only by the disappearance of KING PREMPEH, however, that the confidence of the people in the determination of the British Government to insist on peace and humanity had been assured. The effect of the peaceful removal of a potentate so universally feared could scarcely be exaggerated. It would only be by slow degrees that the details of the cruelties that were formerly committed at Kumassi would become fully known, but he had already seen and heard enough to convince him that the destruction of the central power had relieved thousands of human beings from real fear that death in some horrible form might at some time be their fate. The expedition had had the further effect of closing one of the chief Slave markets of the Mohammedan traders. (Cheers.) Among the possible articles of profitable commerce to be met with in Ashanti he singled out the kola nut as the most valuable product of the country, and indicated that, under improved conditions of transit, it might readily become the subject of a remunerative trade. We were doing something to obtain the results which generally followed where British influence had been established, and by the recognition of the independence of the various tribal kings or head chiefs of provinces it had been made the interest of each to carry out the directions of the protecting Power. Life and property had been rendered secure, or at least more secure than they had ever been in the history of Ashanti. It had become possible for missionaries to settle in Kumassi and other towns, from which they had been persistently excluded in the past. We might now confidently look for the spread of civilisation in this region, and for the revival of commerce, which was the natural consequence of the *Pax Britannica*. He could tell them little of the Ashantis as a people, owing to the circumstances under which he travelled. He should, however, judge the Ashanti tribes to be decidedly superior to the Fanti tribes on the coast. They had more pride of race, they were probably more industrious, and though they were described as false, plausible, and cunning, they were probably more capable, intellectually, than the coast tribes. It remained to be seen what the educational advantages about to be offered to them by the missionaries would do for them. The form of government of the various provinces under the general control and observation of the British Resident would be much the same as that which obtained in the more remote districts in the Gold Coast Colony. There would be as little interference as possible with native customs or with the management of their affairs by the several chiefs, provided that there was no cruelty or inhumanity, and no wilful injustice. Under the government of PREMPEH and his predecessors, the occupant of the golden stool was entitled to half of the produce of every gold mine. This exaction was not calculated to encourage the production of the precious metal, and it might perhaps prove that under less onerous conditions alluvial gold mining would be more extensively resorted to.—*Times*, September 7th.

The Development of Uganda.

THE REV. E. H. HUBBARD, of the Church Missionary Society's station at Nassa, on the south end of Lake Victoria, has just arrived in London from Uganda, after five years' residence in Central Africa. In an interview with a representative of Reuter's Agency, he gave some interesting particulars regarding the development of the Protectorate. Amongst other things, he said :—

"When I left Mengo in May everything politically was very quiet. Mr. BERKELEY, the Administrator, was at head-quarters at Port Alice, and, assisted by Major TURNAM and Captain SITWELL, was directing the affairs of the country. Mr. GEORGE WILSON, the resident at Kampala Fort (Mengo), was busily engaged in developing the resources of the country, and was planting coffee, tobacco, and English fruit trees. The country is being developed at a rapid rate. Mengo is surrounded by splendid roads, having a good surface and suitable for vehicles. The Government has presented King M'WANGA with a brougham, which will, on its arrival, be a strange sight in Uganda, and dog-carts and similar vehicles have been ordered for the Government officials. Bicycles are expected up this year. Building is going on apace. The chiefs are erecting for themselves stone and brick houses of two storeys with windows and doors—a remarkable contrast to their former grass huts. One chief has built a house of thirty rooms—and instead of marauding bands, gangs of native workmen engaged in peaceful occupation are to be seen in the streets. In fact, the people are loyally co-operating with the white men in repairing the ravages of former wars, and with signal success. Banana gardens are re-stocked, roads cleared, bridges made, and swamps drained.

"Well to the fore in this respect is the Prime Minister—the Katikiro Apollo—who is acquiring almost Western business habits. He has an office furnished with tables and chairs, stationery cases, and all sorts of articles which one would hardly expect to find in Central Africa. Many of the chiefs, too, are getting European furniture.

"So far as I know, there have been no British operations since the expedition sent to Eldoma Ravine to inquire into the murder of Mr. DICK and the massacre of his caravan by Masai, when it was found that the Masai were not the aggressors. About the same time a force of Nubians and Waganda, under a British officer, was sent against the Wanandi, who had attacked a mail caravan. The natives were punished and their cattle confiscated. With these exceptions there have been no political movements in Uganda or the adjacent countries.

"Everyone in Uganda," continued Mr. HUBBARD, "is eagerly looking forward to the completion of the railway. The white residents are put to great inconvenience by the absence of necessities. When I left one caravan had been nine months on the road and had not then been heard of."

Asked concerning the English and French missions, Mr. HUBBARD replied :—

"The contrast between the Uganda of to-day and that of 1893 is simply marvellous. I have pointed out some of the progress that has been made, and the same rapid development also applies to mission work. In the case of the English Protestant mission, our great difficulty is to restrain the thousands of natives who flock to us for instruction and apply for baptism. The new English Catholic mission, under Bishop HANLON, is limiting its work to the district formerly occupied only by the French White Fathers. They have been greatly hindered recently by the illness of some of their priests. The relations between the English Catholics and the Anglican mission are much more friendly than those formerly existing between the French Fathers and the C.M.S. All former territorial limits have been removed, and the whole country is open to Protestants and Catholics alike."—*The Times*, August 19th.



SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

SLAVES IN CHAINS GUARDED BY A NATIVE ASKARI OR SOLDIER.

"So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comfort; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comfort."—ECCLESIASTES iv, 1.